Where Duty Leads: CANADA IN THE FIRST WORLD WAR

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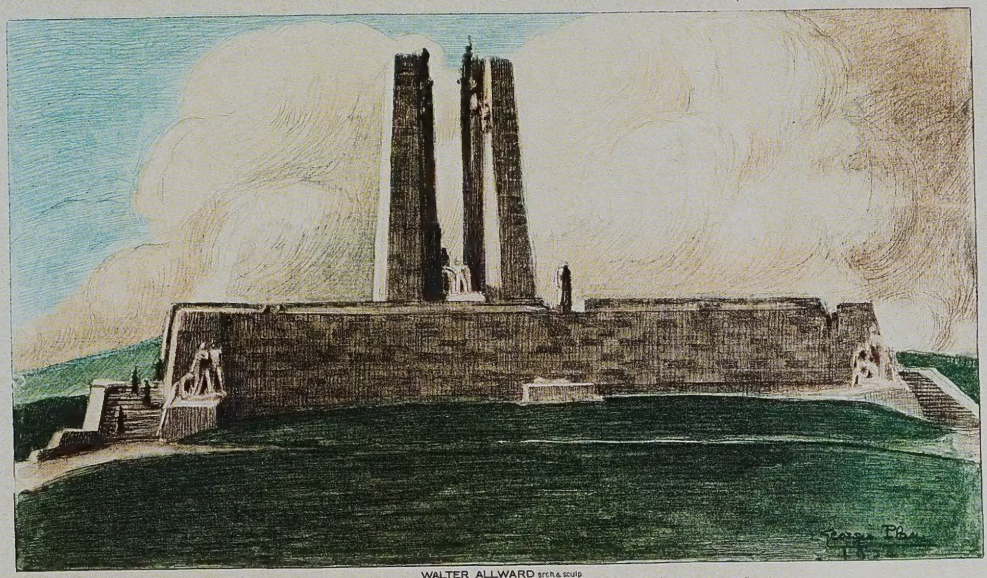

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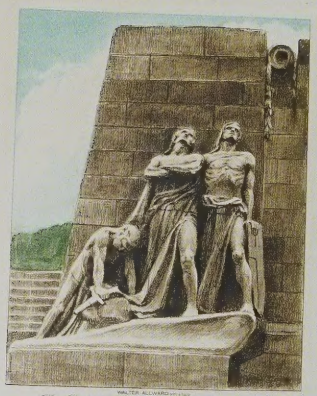


The Responders and the breaking of the Sword

The sympathy of the Canadians for the Helpless

Canada mourning her Dead

Where Duty Leads

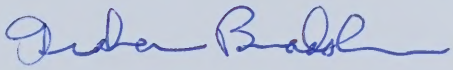
CANADA IN THE FIRST WORLD WAR

Exhibition and catalogue by Graham Bradshaw

THE THOMAS FISHER RARE BOOK LIBRARY

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

22 September - 19 December 2008



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PREFACE

In 1984 Graham Bradshaw curated an exhibition, *Men Who March Away*, which commemorated the 70th anniversary of the beginning of the 'war to end all wars', and wrote a catalogue for it. Its title was taken from a poem by Thomas Hardy, published in 1914, and many of the items exhibited in the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library were literary works, the reactions of British, Canadian, American, Australian, and German soldiers to their experiences of trench warfare. That exhibition revealed something of the breadth and strength of the holdings of the University of Toronto Libraries for an historical event that is commonly viewed as an integral part of the definition of Canada as a sovereign nation. It is gratifying to welcome Graham back as the curator of *Where Duty Leads: Canada in the First World War*, a commemoration of the 90th anniversary of the end of World War I.

Over 600,000 Canadians served in the Great War and 60,000 of them did not return from combat. Every city, town, and village in the Dominion coped with the loss of many of the men and women who were viewed as the future of their communities, as the cenotaphs across the country attest. The sense of mourning was perhaps most poignant in small towns and municipalities where there was then a relatively stable population and almost everyone knew almost everyone else. One such place is Armstrong Spallumcheen in the North Okanagan Valley in the interior of British Columbia. From its small population over three hundred served in the Great War and over sixty died. Every year while I was growing up, on November 11th there was a solemn ceremony at the cenotaph, a parade by the militia of the Rocky Mountain Rangers and the veterans, which by then included the vets of the Second World War as well, and then they would all go off to the Royal Canadian Legion to drink and reminisce. I heard many stories of the Great War (and some of the Boer War as well) and, of course, many of the names on the cenotaph were familiar; they were the families who lived on the neighbouring farms and ranches. Many of the stories from places like Armstrong/Spallumcheen have never been written and published, but Leonard Gamble has now published (2008) *So Far from Home: The Stories of Armstrong's Fallen in the Great War, 1914–1919*, a thoroughly researched, well-illustrated, and very moving account of how one small Canadian community dealt with the war that was never supposed to happen again.

There are many Canadian accounts of the War; historical, poetical, and fictional. It still holds a fascination for many people and, as Graham points out, there is only one Canadian veteran left. This exhibition displays and enunciates why we still care, ninety years on.

Richard Landon,
Director

INTRODUCTION

As a child growing up in a small town west of Toronto, I would occasionally visit the local park, a pleasant green space opposite the community's busy hockey arena. Two things about the park stand out: a World War I field artillery piece captured from the Germans, and the war memorial erected in the 1920s to commemorate the men of the town and surrounding area who served with the Canadian Expeditionary Force (C.E.F.) during the Great War. Gazing up at the imposing stone figure of a soldier – bare-headed, one hand resting on a cross – I would attempt to pronounce the strangely spelled names of the places where the soldiers fought, engraved on the south facing side of the memorial – Ypres, Festubert, Givenchy, Passchendaele, Arras – and imagine what their war must have been like. History classes in public and high school touched briefly on the subject, but seemed no more than a recitation of facts, figures, and dates. It was only later, through the writings of the participants, the soldiers' memoirs, diaries, and letters, and the poetry of Wilfred Owen, Siegfried Sassoon, and Isaac Rosenberg, that I gradually formed a picture of life in the trenches on the Western Front. A visit to the battlefields some years after university also brought the war into sharper focus. Much of the land over which the millions of khaki, pale blue and field-grey uniformed men fought and died has recovered, at least to some degree, from the terrible punishment inflicted upon it, the present-day pastoral scenes far removed from the muddy, devastated wastelands seen in contemporary newsreels and black and white photographs. The signs of war, however, are still everywhere and unmistakable, in the many memorials to the fallen, and most especially in the hundreds of cemeteries dotting the countryside. Some of the gravesites are massive, the British cemetery at Tyne Cot holding the remains of close to twelve thousand soldiers; others have fewer than twenty. At Beaumont Hamel, a quiet place some nine kilometres north of the French town of Albert, lies a battlefield where one of the great tragedies of the war unfolded. Etched deeply into the earth, and largely intact, are the trenches from which the Newfoundland Regiment, approximately eight hundred strong, arose on the morning of 1 July 1916 to attack the German positions opposite. In the space of twenty minutes German machine-gun and rifle fire had decimated their ranks, and almost seven hundred men lay dead, dying or wounded on the shell-scarred ground of No Man's Land. The scale of the losses on this and other First World War battlefields remains almost incomprehensible: one is left with both a feeling of immense sadness and enormous respect for the courage and determination of those on both sides of the conflict.

This year marks the ninetieth anniversary of the signing of the Armistice ending a war that cost the lives of millions, including sixty thousand Canadians. Of the 619,636 men who served in the C.E.F. during the First World War, only one, Acting Lance-Corporal John Babcock, is alive today. Born in 1900 on a farm near Kingston, Ontario, Babcock was fifteen years of age when he enlisted in the 146th Battalion of the C.E.F. Although under age he made it as far as England, where he spent the remainder of the war with a

Young Soldiers Battalion, training for the day when, at eighteen, he would be old enough to go to the front. That day never arrived for Babcock; the war ended before his chance to fight in the trenches came. *Where Duty Leads: Canada in the First World War* is an exhibition about people like Babcock, ordinary Canadian men and women who answered their country's call when war was declared in August 1914. It gathers together a range of materials – photographs, music, histories, poetry, letters, government-issued posters, official documents, literature of the training camps and of the trenches – that highlight different aspects of this response. Not surprisingly, much of the exhibition focuses on Canada's military contribution which, over the course of the war, grew from a single infantry division to a four-division corps under the command of a Canadian general, Sir Arthur Currie. As the material illustrates, emphasis has been placed on the actions of individuals, either singly or collectively. The Sam Hughes broadside, from which the exhibition takes its name, epitomizes a particular official attitude, but also reflects the enthusiasm and patriotism for king, country, and empire that were characteristic of the early days of the Great War. The printed battalion and unit Christmas cards sent home by officers at the front to family and friends were ways of maintaining connections with their former lives, of finding some element of normalcy in a harsh world of death and destruction. A notebook owned by Harold Innis, serving as a signaller with a field artillery battery, which bears dramatic evidence of the shrapnel that tore through it, reminds us of the war's cost in suffering and lives lost. So, too, does the quick pencil note of Lieutenant Harold Wrong, written to his brother the day before he was killed at the Battle of the Somme. For those who remained at home the war brought government-imposed restrictions, hardships, and personal tragedy, but it also offered opportunities to engage in war-related public service activities and to begin breaking down sexual stereotypes. The food pledge card was a citizen's declaration of support for the national food conservation programme, for example, while a small pamphlet, *Morrisburg War Work Sept. 1914 – May 1917*, is representative of the many accounts documenting the significant role women's organizations played in the Canadian war effort. These, and the other items on display, are poignant reminders of a period in our nation's history when men and women were asked to sacrifice so very much.

With few exceptions, the printed material and artifacts found in the exhibition date from the years 1914 to 1919. Items falling outside this scope, such as those showing the opening of Soldiers' Tower at the University of Toronto and the unveiling of the Vimy Memorial in France, were chosen because they commemorate to such a significant degree Canada's part in the war. The majority of the material in the exhibition comes from the collections of the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library and the University of Toronto Archives. The University's John P. Robarts Research Library, the Faculty of Music Library, and private collectors have also contributed to the variety and richness of what is on display. Mounting an exhibition is very much a collaborative effort and I wish to acknowledge the assistance given by the staff from these libraries and archives. In particular, I would like

to thank Sandra Alston, Harold Averill, Pearce Carefoote, Anne Dondertman, Luba Frastacky, Marnee Gamble, Linda Joy, Marie Korey, Richard Landon, Kathleen McMorrow, Lachlan McNair, Tom Reid, Garron Wells, and Mary Yohn.

Babcock's perseverance and determination to take part in this war, the war that was to 'end all wars', the war that some have said marks Canada's coming of age as a nation, were shared by thousands of Canadian men and women. This exhibition is a tribute to John Babcock and to all Canadians who served where duty led them.

CASE ONE

Answering the Call

At 11 p.m. Greenwich Mean Time, on Tuesday, 4 August 1914, the British ultimatum, delivered to the German government earlier that day demanding the withdrawal of its military forces from Belgian territory, expired. Britain, together with France and Russia, was at war with Germany. Shortly afterwards, in Ottawa, the Governor-General of Canada, His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught (1850-1942), received the announcement by cable from the Colonial Secretary. As part of the British Empire, Canada, too, was now at war. Under the existing constitutional arrangement, the Canadian government exercised little control over its foreign policy including declaring war or making peace. Canada did, however, reserve the right to decide what form any participation would take (Nicholson: 5). In the days immediately preceding the outbreak of war, the government had offered both moral and practical support to Britain including the assurance that 'a considerable force would be available for service abroad' (Borden, *Memoirs*: 456). On 6 August, cabinet authorized the mobilization of the country's military forces and the raising, on a voluntary basis, of a Canadian division numbering twenty-one thousand men, increased later that month by Parliament to twenty-five thousand. Responsibility for overseeing this mobilization lay with the Minister of Militia and Defence, Sam Hughes (1853-1921), a former newspaper editor and militia officer, a man described by his biographer as a 'remarkable personality' and 'one of the most colourful, even bizarre figures in Canadian history' (Haycock: 1). While acknowledging Hughes's energy and resourcefulness, Sir Robert Borden (1854-1937), the Prime Minister, expressed strong reservations about his cabinet colleague, whom he viewed as intensely vain and of a vindictive temper (Borden, *Memoirs*: 463). These reservations were shared by many of Hughes's contemporaries. Overbearing, a consummate improviser and highly sensitive to criticism, the mercurial Hughes held a deep-seated prejudice against professional soldiers and a correspondingly high regard for the merits of volunteer citizen-soldiers, an attitude which was the cause of much confusion and disorganization during the early stages of the war. Canada's permanent force was very small, approximately three thousand men in 1914. The major responsibility for Canada's defences was entrusted to the part-time soldiers of the Active Militia, numbering some sixty thousand, from whom Hughes expected to draw the men necessary to form the first contingent. Ignoring the detailed mobilization plans drawn up before the war, Hughes dispatched 226 telegrams to the officers commanding the militia units across the country, requiring them to submit the names of those men willing to volunteer for service overseas. Once chosen, the men were ordered to assemble at Valcartier, Quebec, the site of a proposed new training camp.

The reaction of the Canadian public to the announcement of war was swift and overwhelmingly enthusiastic.

Excited crowds filled the streets of cities and towns across the country as the news spread quickly. The Toronto *Globe* reported thousands of people thronging the streets outside its offices as news of the declaration of war was posted: [There were] 'processions with bands, little groups discussing the matter, and cheering crowds reading bulletins and extras. Every moment there arose the solemn air of the National Anthem or the triumphant melody of Britain's martial music' (*The Globe*, August 5, 1914: 6). Hundreds more celebrated by parading beneath a panoply of Union Jacks along Yonge Street and other major thoroughfares, the strains of 'Rule Britannia' competing with the cheers for the King, the Governor-General, and the Empire. Over the next several days, similar scenes were repeated as spontaneous gatherings and impromptu demonstrations of loyalty took place. Young men from all walks of life, responding to calls for volunteers and anxious lest the war end before they had an opportunity to take part, besieged the militia armouries and recruiting offices. Many were disappointed as preference was given to those with previous military experience. On 20 August, the first of Toronto's soldiers, approximately one thousand men, left from the Cherry Street rail station for Valcartier, their departure witnessed by a large crowd that had gathered to wish them well. By the end of the month three more drafts of volunteers would follow, making a total of some four thousand Toronto men who were destined to serve in the First Contingent (Miller: 19).

Men across Canada, more than one third of whom were from the West, converged on the still unfinished Valcartier camp, twenty kilometres northwest of Quebec City (Morton, *When Your Number's Up*: 13). The first elements arrived 18 August, and by the middle of September, almost thirty-three thousand men were in camp learning the rudiments of soldiering: parade-square drill, route marches, small arms exercises, and target practice on the rifle ranges. The time available was simply too short to do much more as the contingent was scheduled to sail for England the first week of October.

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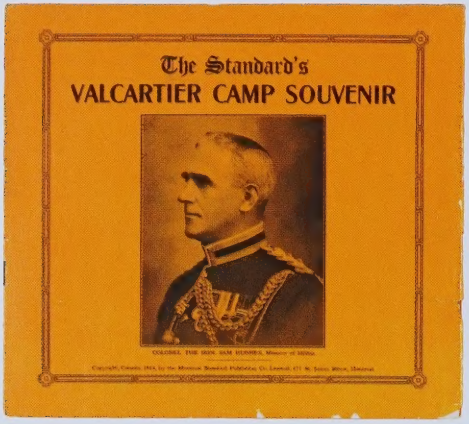
1 Sir Robert Laird Borden (1854-1937). *"Canada at War": Special Session of the Dominion Parliament, August, 1914.* [S.l: s.n., 1914?].

The Canadian Parliament was summoned for a special session, beginning 18 August 1914 and lasting five days, to discuss the war and to consider various emergency measures adopted by the government. In a display of solidarity and loyalty, the opposition Liberals under Sir Wilfrid Laurier (1841-1919) supported the decision to send a twenty-five thousand-strong overseas contingent, a war appropriation of $50 million, and the passage of the War Measures Act, giving the executive arm of the government sweeping powers to prosecute the war, including, if necessary, the curtailment of civil liberties. In a wide-ranging reply to the Speech from the Throne, reprinted in *"Canada at War"*, the Prime Minister briefly outlined the case for war, the efforts on the part of the British government to mediate a peaceful outcome of the European crisis, and the German decision to violate Belgian neutrality, that being the reason for Britain and the Empire's involvement in the conflict. Borden also

made public the correspondence that took place between the Canadian and British governments in the days prior to the outbreak of hostilities, and Canada's offers of support, both moral and tangible.

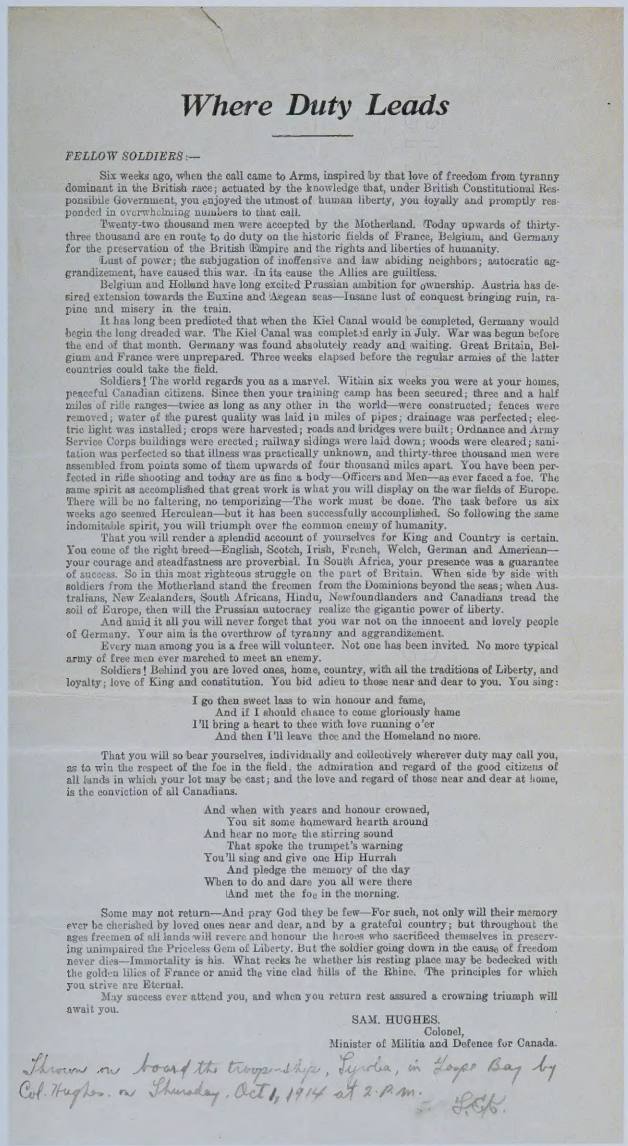
Throughout the war, several of Borden's speeches and addresses delivered before audiences across the country and in England and the United States were published in a series entitled *Canada at War*.



2 *The Standard's Valcartier Camp Souvenir*. Montreal: Montreal Standard Publishing Co., 1914.

When Sam Hughes scrapped the pre-war mobilization plans and implemented his own scheme, he also chose to move the location for training the troops from Petawawa, Ontario, to Valcartier, an undeveloped site near Quebec City. From 8 August, a workforce of some four hundred men began the task of clearing the land and constructing a camp capable of accommodating more than thirty thousand soldiers. In less than a month, 'a miracle in the wilderness' had been achieved, a fully functioning camp with two and a half miles of rifle ranges comprising fifteen hundred targets, water mains, sewage, power, and telephone systems, and rail links to Quebec City (Brown and Cook: 214). In the absence of permanent structures, tents were erected to house the troops. Private Harold Peat from Edmonton, serving with the 3rd Battalion, recorded his impressions of the camp: 'Such a sight: tents everywhere one looked; all around little white marquees. I said to Bill, 'Is this the regular training ground?' To my surprise he informed me that this great camp had been organized within the last two weeks.' (Peat: 7).

The *Montreal Standard* was established in 1905 as a Saturday newspaper, similar to the *Illustrated London News*. The Valcartier camp souvenir, comprising four fold-out pages with photographs and patriotic messages from King George V (1865-1936) and Field Marshal H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught, the Governor-General of Canada, is a simple record of the camp's activities. In referring to the men of the contingent, the Governor-General had this to say: 'From all over the broad Dominion they have come at the call of the Mother Land – tall, grave men from the Eastern Provinces; bright eyed and high-spirited boys from the big cities; broad shouldered, swaggering plainsmen from the Middle West, fearless in their confidence to hold their own with any soldiers on the face of the globe, and grim, silent woodsmen from British Columbia, burned brown through their life in the open, and strong with the silent strength that mother nature gives freely to her loyal sons.'



Where Duty Leads

FELLOW SOLDIERS:—

Six weeks ago, when the call came to Arms, inspired by that love of freedom from tyranny dominant in the British race; actuated by the knowledge that, under British Constitutional Responsibile Government, you enjoyed the utmost of human liberty, you loyally and promptly responded in overwhelming numbers to that call.

Twenty-two thousand men were accepted by the Motherland. Today upwards of thirty-three thousand are en route to do duty on the historic fields of France, Belgium, and Germany for the preservation of the British Empire and the rights and liberties of humanity.

Lust of power; the subjugation of inoffensive and law abiding neighbors; autocratic aggrandizement, have caused this war. In its cause the Allies are guiltless.

Belgium and Holland have long excited Prussian ambition for ownership. Austria has desired extension towards the Euxine and Aegean seas—Insane lust of conquest bringing ruin, rapine and misery in the train.

It has long been predicted that when the Kiel Canal would be completed, Germany would begin the long dreaded war. The Kiel Canal was completed early in July. War was begun before the end of that month. Germany was found absolutely ready and waiting. Great Britain, Belgium and France were unprepared. Three weeks elapsed before the regular armies of the latter countries could take the field.

Soldiers! The world regards you as a marvel. Within six weeks you were at your homes, peaceful Canadian citizens. Since then your training camp has been secured; three and a half miles of rifle ranges—twice as long as any other in the world—were constructed; fences were removed; water of the purest quality was laid in miles of pipes; drainage was perfected; electric light was installed; crops were harvested; roads and bridges were built; Ordnance and Army Service Corps buildings were erected; railway sidings were laid down; woods were cleared; sanitation was perfected so that illness was practically unknown, and thirty-three thousand men were assembled from points some of them upwards of four thousand miles apart. You have been perfected in rifle shooting and today are as fine a body—Officers and Men—as ever faced a foe. The same spirit as accomplished that great work is what you will display on the war fields of Europe. There will be no faltering, no temporizing—The work must be done. The task before us six weeks ago seemed Herculean—but it has been successfully accomplished. So following the same indomitable spirit, you will triumph over the common enemy of humanity.

That you will render a splendid account of yourselves for King and Country is certain. You come of the right breed—English, Scotch, Irish, French, Welch, German and American—your courage and steadfastness are proverbial. In South Africa, your presence was a guarantee of success. So in this most righteous struggle on the part of Britain. When side by side with soldiers from the Motherland stand the freemen from the Dominions beyond the seas; when Australians, New Zealanders, South Africans, Hindu, Newfoundlanders and Canadians tread the soil of Europe, then will the Prussian autocracy realize the gigantic power of liberty.

And amid it all you will never forget that you war not on the innocent and lovely people of Germany. Your aim is the overthrow of tyranny and aggrandizement.

Every man among you is a free will volunteer. Not one has been invited. No more typical army of free men ever marched to meet an enemy.

Soldiers! Behind you are loved ones, home, country, with all the traditions of Liberty, and loyalty; love of King and constitution. You bid adieu to those near and dear to you. You sing:

I go then sweet lass to win honour and fame,
And if I should chance to come gloriously hame
I'll bring a heart to thee with love running o'er
And then I'll leave thee and the Homeland no more.

That you will so bear yourselves, individually and collectively wherever duty may call you, as to win the respect of the foe in the field; the admiration and regard of the good citizens of all lands in which your lot may be cast; and the love and regard of those near and dear at home, is the conviction of all Canadians.

And when with years and honour crowned,
You sit some homeward hearth around
And hear no more the stirring sound
That spoke the trumpet's warning
You'll sing and give one Hip Hurrah
And pledge the memory of the day
When to do and dare you all were there
And met the foe in the morning.

Some may not return—And pray God they be few—For such, not only will their memory ever be cherished by loved ones near and dear, and by a grateful country; but throughout the ages freemen of all lands will revere and honour the heroes who sacrificed themselves in preserving unimpaired the Priceless Gem of Liberty. But the soldier going down in the cause of freedom never dies—Immortality is his. What recks he whether his resting place may be bedecked with the golden lilies of France or amid the vine clad hills of the Rhine. The principles for which you strive are Eternal.

May success ever attend you, and when you return rest assured a crowning triumph will await you.

SAM. HUGHES.
Colonel,
Minister of Militia and Defence for Canada.

Thrown on board the troop-ship, Tyrolia, in Gaspe Bay by Col. Hughes. on Thursday, Oct 1, 1914 at 2 P.M. L.E.B.

3 Sir Samuel Hughes (1853-1921). *Where Duty Leads.* [Ottawa?: s.n., 1914].

Towards the end of September 1914, the 31,200 soldiers of the First Contingent began moving from the Valcartier training camp to Quebec City, the port of embarkation for the journey to England. Once the loading of the men, horses, and equipment was completed, the ships moved down the St. Lawrence River to the Gaspé Basin, there to form convoy with the other troopships and to await a Royal Navy escort. While the ships lay at anchor, Sam Hughes travelled round the fleet distributing copies of his nine-hundred-word farewell message, '*Where Duty Leads.*' By turns bombastic, boastful, romantic, and melodramatic in tone and style, Hughes briefly outlined the reasons for going to war. He also appealed to the soldiers' sense of pride and love of liberty and country.

> That you will render a splendid account of yourselves for King and Country is certain. You come of the right breed – English, Scotch, Irish, French, Welch [sic], German and American – your courage and steadfastness are proverbial. In South Africa, your presence was a guarantee of success. So in this most righteous struggle on the part of Britain. When side by side with soldiers from the Motherland stand the freemen from the Dominions beyond the seas; when Australians, New Zealanders, South Africans, Hindu, Newfoundlanders and Canadians tread the soil of Europe, then will the Prussian autocracy realize the gigantic power of

liberty. And amid it all you will never forget that you war not on the innocent and lovely people of Germany. Your aim is the overthrow of tyranny and aggrandizement.

The soldiers themselves received the Minister's message with decidedly mixed feelings (Duguid: 104). Many, less than impressed with the sentiments in the document, threw their copies into the sea. Borden, in his memoirs, described the proclamation as 'a flamboyant and magniloquent address to the troops, based apparently on Napoleon's famous address to the Army of Italy. It did not enhance his prestige; and indeed excited no little mirth in various quarters' (Borden, *Memoirs*: 465). On the afternoon of 3 October, the thirty troopships (a thirty-first ship carrying the Newfoundland Contingent would join the convoy off Cape Race), together with escort, weighed anchor and to the strains of 'The Maple Leaf Forever' sailed east to the war. Written in pencil across the bottom of the broadside in an unknown hand is the following: 'Thrown on board the troopship *Tyrolia*, in Gaspé Bay by Col. Hughes, on Thursday, Oct. 1, 1914 at 2 p.m. L.E.K.' The *Tyrolia*, a Canadian Pacific Line steamship converted for use as a troopship, carried the 41 officers and 1,121 other ranks of the 4th (Central Ontario) Infantry Battalion.

4 *With the First Canadian Contingent: Published on Behalf of the Canadian Field Comforts Commission.* Toronto: Hodder & Stoughton, [1915].

During the war several voluntary organizations provided extra comforts to the soldiers serving overseas. One such group was the Canadian Field Comforts Commission, started by two Toronto women, Mary Plummer and Joan Arnoldi, who were granted commissions in the Militia by Sam Hughes. Travelling to England with the troops, they set up operations in Amesbury, close to the training grounds on Salisbury Plain, before establishing more permanent quarters at Shorncliffe, the Canadian base camp. Relying on donations of money and clothing, the Commission distributed to the troops in England and on the Western Front a variety of items such as socks, shirts, towels, soap, pipes, writing material, books, and magazines. The soldiers were appreciative of these efforts, as evidenced in publications like *Another Garland from the Front* in which the editors praise Plummer and Arnoldi for 'their splendid work and untiring devotion'.

This book was intended as a record of the First Contingent from its organization and early training at Valcartier Camp, the journey to England and training on Salisbury Plain, to the arrival of Canadian troops in France in February 1915 and their involvement in the Second Battle of Ypres. In addition to the many photographs, a large

section of book is devoted to soldiers' letters from the front. A second purpose was to raise funds for the work of the Canadian Field Comforts Commission.

5 Homer E. Leash. *131st Westminster Overseas Battalion, 1916*. [Vancouver?: s.n., 1916].

The men of the Western provinces responded quickly and in large numbers to the call for volunteers in August 1914. When the First Contingent left for England, eight of its seventeen battalions were recruited in the West including one, the 7th, from British Columbia. Over the course of the war, more than 150,000 men from the four provinces served with the Canadian army. As the war continued, the need for men grew. In December 1915, permission was given by the Ministry of Militia to raise an overseas unit, the 131st (Westminster) Battalion, composed of men from the Fraser Valley and surrounding area of British Columbia. Reviewed by the Governor-General H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught at their training camp in Vernon during the summer of 1916, the battalion sailed for England in November of that year. The battalion did not fight as a unit, but supplied drafts to other formations in France.

6 *Twenty-third Battery Field Artillery: Active Service 1915, Canadian Expeditionary Force*. [London: Roberts & Leete, 1915].

In November 1914, authorization was given to organize a field artillery battery for overseas service with the C.E.F. composed of men from the Maritimes. Recruitment, which centred in Fredericton, New Brunswick, included many students from the University of New Brunswick and other universities in the Maritimes. Quoting from this publication: 'These men were not the usual type of soldiers the city knew, but the very best of brain and youth, which the glorious old maritime provinces could produce. They were new to military life, but all were possessed with determination to be taught and drilled, that they might become efficient in order to cope with the difficult task that lay before them.' On 18 February 1915, after a civic reception that included speeches by the Premier of New Brunswick and the Mayor of

Fredericton, the four officers and one hundred and fifty-one other ranks entrained for Halifax where they boarded a ship for passage to England. After further training at Shorncliffe Camp, Kent, the battery proceeded to France at the end of May 1915, to replace the losses sustained by the First Division during the Second Battle of Ypres. This largely pictorial record of the Twenty-third Battery's formation and early history to May 1915 also includes a nominal roll.

7 Cooks of the 76th Battalion, C.E.F., Niagara Camp, 1915. Toronto: Blakemore Studio, [1915] – Photograph.

8 *Souvenir of Niagara Camp, Niagara-on-the-Lake, Canada*. Niagara Falls: F.H. Leslie, Limited, [1915?].

The Niagara-on-the-Lake site of Camp Niagara had been used by the British military since the late eighteenth century. Following its transfer to the Canadian government in 1871, the site was used as a summer training camp for regular and militia units including those units raised during the First World War (Parks Canada website). On 4 August 1915, Leslie Frost (1895-1973), a young lieutenant in the 35th Regiment Simcoe Foresters and future Premier of Ontario, left Orillia for Niagara-on-the-Lake to attend a month-long course at the School of Infantry which was under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel W.R. Lang (1870-1925), a professor of chemistry at the University of Toronto (Frost: xxv). Once at the camp he wrote to his aunt describing the routine. 'There are about 8000 Men in the Camp. The 75th & 76th, 37th, 35th & 58th Battalion also the Artillery. The 81st is going to camp near Ft. Mississauga at the mouth of the river. We roll out here at 5:30 and have coffee & rolls and parade at 6:15 when we have physical drill at 9:00 & have drill till 12:00 then a lecture til [sic] one and luncheon at 1:15 then from 2 till 2:45 we have company drill then we are free' (Frost: 67).

Souvenir of Niagara Camp, a small booklet of sixteen postcards, depicts various scenes of camp life including visits by the Prime Minister and the Governor-General. A photograph of Fort Mississauga appears on the front cover nestled within the folds of the Red Ensign.

9 *Ready for Active Service: Camp Hughes, Manitoba.* Winnipeg: Western News Agency, Limited, [1916].

Camp Hughes, situated approximately one hundred and thirty kilometres west of Winnipeg, was established in 1910 as Camp Sewell, to meet the need for a central training camp in Military District No. 10. In 1915 its name was changed to Camp Hughes in honour of the Minister of Militia and Defence. During the years 1915 and 1916, approximately thirty-eight thousand men trained there 'according to the syllabus and routine of Canadian camps in England'. In addition to musketry training, physical training, and bayonet fighting, a system of trenches capable of accommodating a battalion was constructed to prepare recruits for war on the Western Front (Galbraith: 41). A dramatic decline in voluntary enlistments in 1916 caused the suspension of training in the final two years of the war. *Ready for Active Service* is a photographic souvenir.

10 *Second Contingent, Military District No. 10, 1915: in Commemoration of the Second Contingent Going to the Front from Military District No. 10, Canada, 1915.* Winnipeg: Public Press, [c1915].

On 6 October 1914, the Governor-General cabled Lord Harcourt (1863-1922), the Colonial Secretary, offering, on behalf of the Canadian government, a second contingent of twenty thousand men to assist in the war effort. Recruiting for the fifteen new infantry battalions began soon afterwards, the responsibility for raising the men given to the military districts across the country. Military District No. 10, with headquarters in Winnipeg, covered the provinces of Manitoba and Saskatchewan, and the Ontario regions of Kenora, Rainy River, and Thunder Bay. Two units from the District were formed, the 27th (City of Winnipeg) Battalion and the 28th Battalion, and preliminary training was conducted locally because Canada at that time lacked the facilities to train a large force of men during the winter. In April 1915, the first elements of the Second Contingent sailed to England. Unlike the First Contingent which sailed in convoy, the Second Contingent's vessels left singly and unescorted. The only wholly French-Canadian formation to serve overseas in the war, the 22e Régiment (the Van Doos), was a part of the contingent.

This work commemorates the raising of the two units serving with what became the Second Division of the Canadian Expeditionary Force. In the introduction, the

Mayor of Winnipeg, Thomas Deacon (1865-1955), emphasized the personal nature of the publication. 'This book is just a record of faces. One face, gazing bravely somewhere from the mass – to be looked at and treasured by a mother, a family, or wife, or sweetheart, or friend; and the mass itself to be looked at with the pride of National courage, by the people of Western Canada.' The book is filled with photographs of individual officers and group shots of the soldiers in the different formations. Every officer, non-commissioned officer, and enlisted man is named.

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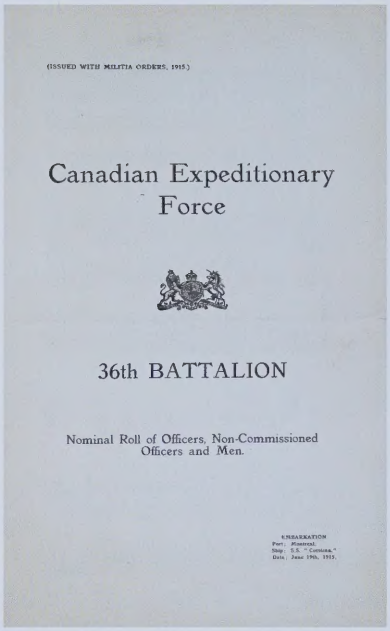
11 Canada. Canadian Army. Battalion, 36th. *36th Battalion: Nominal Roll of Officers, Non-commissioned Officers and Men / Canadian Expeditionary Force: Embarkation Port: Montreal, Ship: S.S. "Corsican", Date: June 19th, 1915.* [S.l.: s.n., 1915?].


(ISSUED WITH MILITIA ORDERS, 1915.)

Canadian Expeditionary Force

36th BATTALION

Nominal Roll of Officers, Non-Commissioned Officers and Men.

EMBARKATION
Port: Montreal.
Ship: S.S. "Corsican."
Date: June 19th, 1915.

Nominal rolls, issued with Militia orders, were sailing lists of personnel in the Canadian Expeditionary Force units proceeding overseas. The information, presented in tabular form, includes regimental number, rank, name, former corps, name of next of kin, address of next of kin, country of birth, and, taken on strength (when the men joined the battalion), divided into two columns indicating place and date. The officers are listed first by rank, followed by non-commissioned officers and then other ranks arranged alphabetically by surname. A total of 1,058 men are listed on the 36th Battalion roll. Of this number, 288 were Canadian-born and 988 born in Britain. Thirty-nine officers are listed; thirty were Canadian-born and two born in the United States. Upon arrival in England on 29 June 1915, the battalion was sent to the Shorncliffe training camp. Designated a reserve battalion, the men from the unit were sent as reinforcements to other formations at the front. The high percentage of British-born soldiers in the C.E.F. was not unusual at this point in the war. The figure is a reflection of heavy immigration from the British Isles before 1914 and a desire on the part of these men to fight for their mother country. The official historian analyzed the composition of the men who sailed with the First Contingent. Of the 36,267 men (including reinforcements who went overseas prior to 31 March 1915), 23,211 men came from Britain and 10,880 were Canadian-born (Duguid, Appendices: 58).

12 Princess Mary Christmas Gift Box.

In October 1914, Her Royal Highness the Princess Mary (1897-1965), only daughter of King George V, established a fund to send a Christmas gift to all soldiers and sailors serving at the front. The following month the scheme was extended to every man and woman wearing the King's uniform, including Canadian troops training in England. While an embossed brass box was sent to everyone, the contents differed considerably depending on the recipient. For Canadians, the gift consisted of a pencil and a New Year's card; soldiers at the front received a pipe, tobacco, a pack of cigarettes, a Christmas card, and a photograph of the princess. Of the more than 2.6 million boxes distributed, seventy thousand were presented to Canadian soldiers.

Somewhere in France and Flanders

By the middle of February 1915, after further training in England under abysmal weather conditions, the soldiers of the First Contingent, now the First Canadian Division, made their way across the English Channel to France. Short days later, the Canadians were occupying the trenches in front of Fleurbaix, not far from the town of Armentières. Over the next forty-four months the Borden government's initial commitment of a single infantry division would grow to a four-division corps, with a well-deserved reputation as a battle-hardened and effective fighting force that spearheaded the Allied drive during the last one hundred days of the war. This reputation was forged on the bloody battlefields of Flanders and northern France, from the Second Battle of Ypres in April 1915, where untested Canadian soldiers bore the brunt of a German assault preceded by the use of poison gas, to the capture of Mons on 11 November 1918, scene of a British retreat in the first days of the war.

For Canada as well as for the other combatant nations, the war's rapid evolution from one of movement to stalemate was unexpected, no army prepared for the trench warfare that resulted. In a conflict where artillery and machine-gun fire dominated the battlefield, survival required that the soldiers dig in for protection. 'The resulting trench stalemate revived the archaic science of siegecraft, with its language of parapets and parados, traverses and revetments' (Morton, *When Your Number's Up*: 128). In this 'troglodyte world', with the width of No Man's Land averaging between 150 and 175 yards, and sometimes as narrow as 35 to 75 yards, a reversal of normal life occurred. Days were spent resting, writing letters, cleaning weapons, conducting minor repairs, but above all, remaining hidden from the enemy. It was at night that the trenches came alive. Under the cover of darkness, rations, ammunition, and mail were brought up from the rear areas to the front line troops. Work parties were detailed to repair trenches damaged during enemy bombardments and improve the barbed wire in front of the trenches, dangerous activities with the Germans so close. Private Donald Fraser (1882-1946) of the 31st (Alberta) Battalion described the hazards: 'It is the custom as soon as darkness sets in for both sides to keep up a more or less continuous fire at each other's trenches, to keep one another from attacking and also, to keep patrols from No Man's Land... The tendency when firing in the dark is to fire high with the result that the majority of the bullets go fringing over the trenches, maybe to find a victim two thousand yards behind; many men get killed in this fashion. It shows, therefore, how risky it is moving around in the open within rifle range' (Fraser: 32).

Conditions in the front lines were primitive: the men were exposed to the elements, living in wet, cold, stinking trenches and dugouts, plagued by vermin, exhausted by lack of sleep, and subject to hard physical labour, and the mental or nervous strain caused by close proximity to death or, perhaps far worse, terrible maiming. On display is a letter from one young soldier, J.M. Cooper, who wrote home about his unit's transfer from Belgium (a country he did not

think much of) to the trenches of Picardy. 'We thought well, when we get to France it will be all right, we trekked down there & it seemed much better, & we were just flattering ourselves on the change when we found ourselves up to the knees in that stink of filth & corruption that they call the Somme, well, believe me that place is little short of a nightmare. All day walloping about in the stickiest filthiest smelliest mud you can imagine, it was in the food & in your blanket at night, & it smelt of graveyards & dead men.' While little could be done about these conditions, the monotony of army food was relieved and additional comforts supplied by the generous efforts of the voluntary organizations back home: the Y.M.C.A., which also did much good work in France and Flanders, the Canadian War Contingent Association, and the Canadian War Comforts Commission. These groups supplied the troops with an assortment of goods – from dried and canned fruit, cakes, items of clothing like socks and balaclava caps, candies, cigarettes, tobacco, and reading and writing materials. As one publication issued by the Canadian War Contingent Association stated, [the soldiers] 'like to know that the people at home are remembering them, and are sending something to vary the monotony and discomfort of trench life' (Canadian War Contingent Association: 9).

Out of the line, officers kept the enlisted men busy with drilling, training, and the ubiquitous working parties, the assumption being that allowing soldiers too much free time might undermine military discipline. There were, however, opportunities for rest and relaxation, perhaps visiting the local estaminets, attending concert parties given by divisional troupes like the Dumbells and the Maple Leafs, and competing in brigade, divisional and corps sporting days. Mail from home was eagerly awaited, and over the course of the war a steady stream of letters and parcels flowed backwards and forwards across the Atlantic. For soldiers writing home to family and friends, censorship was an ever present reality. Officers were assigned to read their men's correspondence to ensure that sensitive military information or items of news prejudicial to the war effort were not communicated to the people back home. Although their own letters were not subject to the same degree of scrutiny, the officers were expected to avoid any such references, but not surprisingly, many wrote vivid accounts of their experiences in the trenches.

A lasting legacy of the Great War is the camaraderie of the soldiers engendered by shared experience, the facing together of the dangers and hardships of everyday life in the trenches. These experiences created an enduring bond and strong sense of brotherhood that encompassed those comrades who gave their lives. This comradeship of the trenches is a theme to which the soldier poets allude in their verse and in their letters. Pride in and loyalty to one's battalion, field artillery battery, or division is also evident, the publication of the many short histories soon after the Armistice a testament to strong attachments and a desire to remember the men and events that shaped these young lives.

13 Canada. Canadian Army. 12th Canadian Mounted Rifles. *First Christmas Dinner of the Sergeants' Mess, 12th Canadian Mounted Rifles.* [December 25th, 1915] Bramshott Camp, Hants, England – Menu.

A second contingent of twenty thousand men, raised near the end of 1914, included among its formations thirteen regiments of mounted rifles, but none of these units saw service as cavalry. The first six regiments went to France in September and October 1915, where they were converted to infantry. The 12th Canadian Mounted Rifles, which recruited in the Calgary and Red Deer areas, sailed to England in October 1915, and spent the next several months at the Bramshott training camp. That Christmas would be the only one the men of the 12th would celebrate together. The following February the soldiers of the regiment were sent as reinforcements to other Canadian fighting units. For Christmas dinner a special menu was prepared and each sergeant was responsible for providing a particular dish. Thus, Squadron Sergeant Major John Oliver of 'C' Squadron and mess president supplied 'Leg of Pork a la Oliver,' while Sergeant George Parkinson, also of 'C' Squadron, brought tarts. The last page of the menu lists the fifty-four names of the sergeants who served with the 12th Canadian Mounted Rifles.

14 D.G. Macpherson. *Text-book of Map-reading and Reconnaissance: also Field Sketching made Easy.* London: Hugh Rees, 1916.

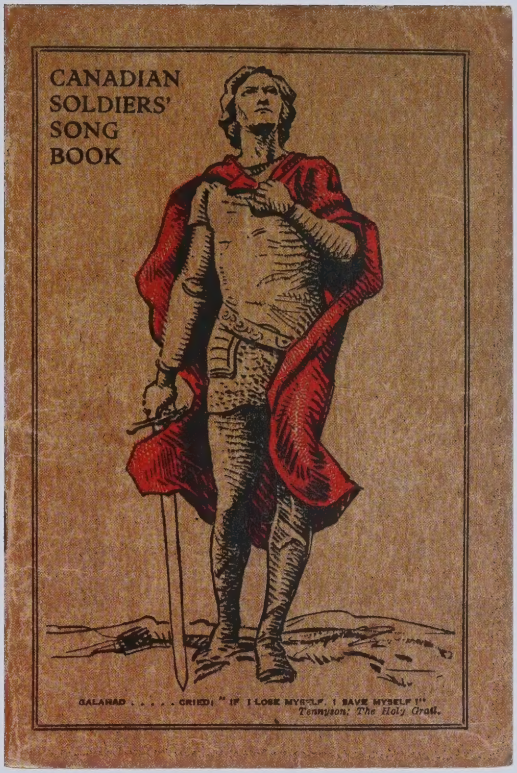
Canadian junior officers and non-commissioned officers, as part of their training, were sent on courses to learn signalling, bombing, trench construction, wiring, and other soldierly tasks. In addition to manuals and guides issued by the military authorities, unofficial publications such as the one displayed were available to those who wanted to improve their military knowledge without the assistance of an instructor. The chapters cover all aspects of practical importance in map-reading and map production, from the definition of terms, the symbols used to convey information, the calculation of scale, to the tools to be used. This included detailed instructions on how to take bearings with a compass and read angles with a pocket sextant. The book also provided guidance in writing reconnaissance reports and navigating at night by the stars.

This copy bears the pencil ownership inscription of Lieutenant C.C. Slemin, 125th Battalion, Witley Camp, Surrey. The 125th Battalion began recruiting throughout Brant County, Ontario, in late 1915, and sailed to England in August of the following year. The battalion was assigned to the newly formed Fifth Division, which was concentrated at Witley, but in early 1918 the division and the battalions within it, was broken up to provide reinforcements for the Canadian Corps.

15 *The Canadian Soldiers' Song Book*. [S.l.: Y.M.C.A., 1916?].

Another enduring legacy of the First World War is the music, especially the songs sung by the soldiers while on the march or taking their ease behind the lines in billets or at the local French and Belgian estaminets. The seventy-two page collection of 163 songs on display, designed to fit the tunic pocket of a soldier's uniform, is divided into twelve sections with headings such as 'National Songs' (*God Save the King*, *O Canada*); 'Solos' (*Roses of Picardy*, *Laddy in Khaki*); 'Scotch Songs' (*My Bonnie Lies Over the Ocean*); and 'Hymns' (*Abide With Me*). Surprisingly, some of the more recognizable songs of the war are absent – *It's a Long Way to Tipperary*, *Mademoiselle from Armentières*, and *Pack Up Your Troubles in Your Old Kit Bag*. When marching, Canadian troops were rarely silent. 'A song which caught the psychic note went like fire down the ranks, until a whole platoon would be roaring together. Songs varied with the mood, and with time and place' (Corrigal: 29). Songs like *Keep Your Head Down, Fritzie Boy* and *When the War is Nearly Over* were popular among the troops, as were marching songs from the American Civil War (*John Brown's Body*). So too were songs sung by soldiers of the British Army, many of which contained ribald lyrics or were parodies of older pieces.

This edition of the song book was donated to the Y.M.C.A. by Mr. and Mrs. William Southam of Hamilton, Ontario, in memory of their son, Major Gordon Hamilton Southam (1886-1916), the officer commanding the 40th



Battery, C.F.A., Third Division, who was killed at the Battle of the Somme, 15 October 1916. William Southam (1843-1932) was the proprietor of the Southam newspaper chain which included among its holdings *The Hamilton Spectator* and *The Ottawa Citizen*. The cover illustration of the song book is based on the memorial to Henry Albert Harper (1873-1901), a statue of Sir Galahad by the American sculptor Ernest Wise Keyser (1876-1959) erected in 1905 outside the Parliament buildings in Ottawa.

NOTHING is to be written on this side except the date and signature of the sender. Sentences not required may be erased. If anything else is added the post card will be destroyed.

I am quite well.

~~I have been~~ admitted into hospital
{ sick } ~~and am going~~ on well.
{ wounded } and hope to be discharged ~~soon~~.

~~I am being sent down to the base.~~

I have received your { letter dated Feb 2. / telegram / parcel }

Letter follows at first opportunity.

I have received no letter from you
{ lately.
{ for a long time.

Signature only.

Date 17/3/15

[Postage must be prepaid on any letter or post card addressed to the sender of this card.]

Straw mostly which we rather preferred since it made the mud softer

ploughing thro' it.

you see all sorts of combinations Leather jerkins, tin hats & high rubbers, goatskin coats, brown canvas coats wool lined, & tarpaulins & capes!

WINTER FASHIONS FOR YOUNG MEN 1916-17

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16 Field Service Postcards.

The field service postcard was a fast and efficient means by which soldiers could communicate their state of health to family and friends, especially after well-publicized attacks. Nicknamed 'quick firers' or 'whizz-bangs' after German shells that very often arrived with little or no warning (soldiers typically hearing the whizz of the shell before the sound of the gun), millions of these postcards were printed and mailed home. In the military, where censoring of soldiers' correspondence was routine, the sender was required to strike out those printed lines that did not apply, often leaving 'I am quite well' as the only sentence not scored through. The instructions made it explicitly clear that if anything other than the date and signature of the sender was written on the card, it would be destroyed. In his seminal work, *The Great War and Modern Memory*, Paul Fussell wrote that the field service postcard had 'the honor of being the first widespread exemplar of that kind of document which uniquely characterizes the modern world: the "Form." It is the progenitor of all modern forms on which you fill in things or cross out things or check off things, from police traffic summonses to "questionnaires" and income-tax blanks' (Fussell: 185).

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17 Letter from J.M. Cooper, written in France and dated 16 January 1917, to Edward Greig, Director of the Art Museum of Toronto.

This entertaining letter, written by a talented Canadian artist serving with the Fourth Canadian Division, describes conditions in the line: 'Have had a fairly interesting time over here, haven't got shooted [sic] at yet tho' the first ten minutes that I butted in on the "big push" the concussion of a whizz bang bursting about five yards away put me on my ear & before I could get up another almost covered me with dirt but the remainder of the day they either went clear or were "duds".' Cooper laments the fact that he doesn't have many opportunities to sketch, but thinks his visual memory will continue to serve him once home. Nevertheless, the drawings he had time to include in his letter are delightful. Wittily titled 'Winter Fashions for Young Men 1916-17. S Hughes & Co Military Outfitters Ottawa', the five ink drawings depict officers and other ranks dressed in a variety of trench clothing: 'you see all sorts of combinations. Leather jerkins, tin hats, high rubbers, goatskin coats, brown canvas coats wool lined & tarpaulins & capes!'

18 Christmas Cards and Postcards with Silk Embroidery.

On display are a selection of battalion and unit Christmas cards sent home by officers and men serving on the Western Front. All bear the unit crest on the cover, and inside include various printed Christmas and New Year's greetings. Occasionally the cards also list the officers' names, rank and position, or show a group photograph. Cards from the following battalions are shown: 1st Canadian Battalion (1916), from Lieutenant L.G. Hutton; Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry (1916), from the commanding officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Agar Adamson; 3rd (Toronto) Battalion (1915), from Lieutenant H. Errol B. Platt who was killed in action on 5 May 1916, near Hill 60; 4th Battalion (1916), from Captain G.G. Blackstock; 48th Highlanders of Canada (1914), also known as the 15th Battalion, from Lieutenant Peregrine Acland. After the war, Acland wrote the anti-war novel *All Else is Folly*.

The soldiers also purchased embroidered souvenir postcards sewn by local French and Belgian women. The delicate flaps lift to reveal small printed cards with short messages: 'Remembrance from France'; 'Forget Me Not'; 'Love and Kisses.'

19 Operation Order 10, by Lt.-Col. John A. Currie (1868-1931), Commanding 15th Can. Battalion. Reference Sheet 28, France – Typescript (carbon copy), signed by Currie.

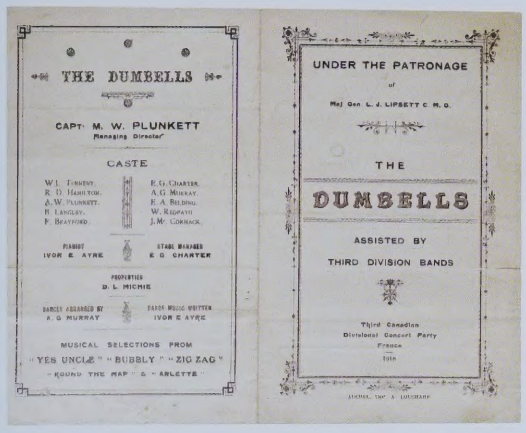
Between 14 and 17 April 1915, the 2nd and 3rd Canadian Infantry Brigades relieved a French division holding the line in the Ypres Salient. One of the battalions serving with the 3rd Brigade was the 15th Battalion, a Toronto unit composed almost entirely of men from the 48th Highlanders of Canada militia regiment, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel John A. Currie. Operation Order 10, issued by Currie, details the movement of his battalion into trenches on the evening of 20 April, actually seventeen poorly constructed redoubts, in relief of the 16th Canadian Battalion (Currie: 193). The time of the departure and the order in which the companies were to march is given, as well as the positions they are to take once they arrive in the line. The men were ordered to 'carry their full kit with packs, greatcoats, 1 blanket, rubber sheet, 200 rounds ammunition. Also a supply of dry wood to assist in keeping the fires going. Water bottles to be filled before leaving.' That evening Currie rode out to the company billets to ensure everything was in readiness for the departure of the battalion. 'I found the men and officers in excellent spirits... They started off a little too early in the evening, and I had to send couriers to halt them and wait for the darkness. It was a beautiful spring evening, bright and warm. The larks were still soaring and singing in the sky, and the sun in the west

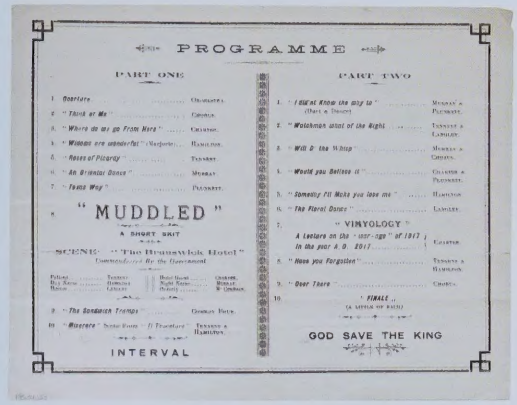
was going down in a sea of gold and amethyst' (Currie: 198).

The calm was not to last. At 5:00 p.m. on 22 April, the Germans released chlorine gas which drifted towards the French colonial troops holding the line to the left of the Canadians. The ensuing panic and retreat of these troops left the Canadians exposed to the full weight of the German attack. The battle raged for several days, highlighted by a second gas attack on 24 April, this time with the Canadian soldiers of the 8th and 15th Battalions as victims. Although forced to give way, the Canadian line held, and with the assistance of British and French troops, the German advance was halted before reaching the town of Ypres. The 15th Battalion suffered 675 casualties, the worst one-day loss suffered by a Canadian battalion in the war (Cook, *At the Sharp End*: 148). Lieutenant-Colonel Currie, under the stress of battle and apparently suffering from shell-shock, deserted his post. Following the battle he was sent home.

20 Officers of the 15th Canadian Battalion (48th Highlanders) after their taking part in the Battle of the Somme, 26-28 September 1916 – Photograph.

The 15th Battalion was part of a four-division British and Canadian attack meant to break the German defences along Thiepval Ridge. On the afternoon of 26 September 1916, the battalion advanced against strong opposition and, despite sustaining 340 casualties (almost half of its strength) reached the objectives. The photograph, taken following their withdrawal from the battle two days later, captures evident signs of battle fatigue in the faces of the officers. Pictured in the front row is Major Wilfrid Mavor, son of Professor James Mavor (1854-1925) of the University of Toronto. Mavor, in command of 'C' Company, is wearing the ribbon of the Military Cross which he won at Festubert the previous year. The regimental history notes that on the evening of 28 September the men rested at the small town of Warloy where a local photographer 'did a thriving trade after pay parade, as many of the platoons, sadly depleted, obtained a record of those who had so far survived the Somme' (Beattie: 183).





21 *The Dumbells: assisted by Third Division bands, Third Divisional Concert Party, France, 1918.* Auchel: Impr. A. Louchart, [1918] – Programme.

22 Ted Charter. *"Kit Inspection": being the Second Epistle of Charterious.* Toronto: Printed by W.S. Johnston, [1920?].

The Dumbells, a highly popular group of soldier-entertainers or 'concert party,' performed songs, dance numbers, and comedy sketches to appreciative audiences of the Third Canadian Division serving in France and Flanders. Formed in 1917 to help maintain the morale of the troops, and taking their name from the divisional insignia, the group was managed by Captain Merton Plunkett (1888-1966) of the Y.M.C.A. who gathered together talented soldiers to put on camp shows. Mixing popular ballads and show tunes with original music and humorous skits on military life and trench warfare written by members of the troupe, the performances were also notable for female impersonation. After the war the Dumbells turned professional and toured Canada, the United States, and Britain until 1932, when the group disbanded. Theirs was not the only such group to perform in front of the men of the Canadian Corps. Approximately thirty troupes existed at one time or another including the Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry Comedy Company, the Y Emmas, and the Fourth Division's Maple Leafs.

Sergeant Ted Charter was one of the original members of the Dumbells and also acted as their stage manager. *"Kit Inspection"* is a whimsical publication written using pseudo-biblical phraseology in which he facetiously describes the Canadian government's call to arms: 'Gather together, your fighting men, and your hourses [sic], and your wagons, and all your personel [sic], and make ready, prepare ye, to fall upon they of PRUSSIA even the HUNITES, fall ye upon them.'

23 Letter (typescript copy) from Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Rennie, dated 30 April 1915, to Aemilius Jarvis (1860-1940).

Lieutenant William Jarvis (1892-1915), a member of a prominent Toronto banking family, was an officer with the 3rd Canadian Battalion, a Toronto unit recruited when the war broke out from three local militia regiments – the Governor General's Body Guard, the 2nd Queen's Own Rifles of Canada, and the 10th Royal Grenadiers (Dancocks: 36). Jarvis had spent three years with the Governor General's Body Guard and volunteered for overseas service with the newly formed 3rd Battalion, which trained at Valcartier camp and formed part of the First Contingent that sailed to England in October 1914. The battalion was in the frontline trenches when the Germans attacked in what became known as the Second Battle of Ypres. Wounded several times, Jarvis refused to leave his trench and was killed on 24 April 1915 by a bullet through the head. As one account puts it, he 'fought as gallantly as his ancestors fought at Chippewa and Lundy's lane [sic]. A stern sense of duty kept him in the trenches when he should have been in the hospital. He gave his life for others' (Currie: 246). The letter from Jarvis's commanding officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Rennie, was written in response to a cable sent to him by William's father requesting more information about the fate of his son. Mr. Jarvis spent several months attempting to piece together the circumstances surrounding his death. He wrote to and spoke with many of William's fellow officers and enlisted men who were involved in the action of 24 April. William Jarvis's body was never recovered. His name appears on the Menin Gate, a memorial to the fifty-five thousand men who fell in the Ypres Salient during the Great War and have no known grave. Lieutenant Jarvis was twenty-three.

24 Charles A. Bovill (1871-1920). *Skizzenbuch*. 1915-1918.

This album was assembled by Pioneer Sergeant Charles A. Bovill while a German prisoner of war. Bovill served with the 8th Canadian Infantry Battalion (90th Winnipeg Rifles), and was captured on 25 April 1915 during the Second Battle of Ypres, an action which saw the battalion suffer 570 casualties, 124 of whom were killed. In all, 1,410 Canadians were captured during the battle; over the course of the war, 3,842 Canadian soldiers were made prisoner. Most found themselves in the Tenth Army Corps district, which included Hanover and parts of Westphalia (Morton, *When Your Number's Up*: 207, 211). The evidence from the album suggests that Bovill spent time in two German camps in Westphalia, Gütersloh, and Rennbahn, both in or near Münster. These camps held soldiers from various combatant nations including France, Russia, and Britain as well as Canada. The 'sketchbook' consists of nine pencil drawings and six watercolours of campmates done by Bovill, forty-five photographs and postcards, eight entertainment programmes printed in the camps, and thirteen other pieces of ephemera. All pages are stamped with the prison censor

stamp. The prisoners staged dramatic productions in the camp theatres such as *As You Like It*, complete with props and costumes, many of which were sent from home. Other entertainment included sporting contests and concert performances with orchestras and singing.

Bovill was released to Switzerland on 8 November 1918 suffering from tuberculosis and died there on 5 November 1920. It is conceivable that his condition was exacerbated by inhaling chlorine gas during the fighting near Ypres, the 8th Battalion being one of the Canadian units that took the full force of the second gas attack on 24 April 1915.

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25 Canada. Canadian Army. Canadian Corps Signal Company. War Diary, 1 June 1917 – 31 May 1919: [manuscript] [France: 1917-19].

Units of the Canadian Expeditionary Force were required to keep daily logs or accounts of their 'actions in the field' on standardized legal-sized forms with the headings 'Place,' 'Date,' 'Hour,' 'Summary of Events and Information,' and 'Remarks and References to Appendices' printed at the head of blank columns. In spite of the restrictions of space imposed by the form, the entries, either handwritten or typed, varied considerably in the amount of detail recorded. The Fisher Library diary was kept by the Canadian Corps Signal Company, which oversaw the communications traffic between Canadian Corps headquarters and the formations reporting to it. The front portion of the diary is an official copy of the original typescript; the remaining section is an official copy of the original handwritten document. All original copies of war diaries were sent to the Canadian War Records Office in London which, after September 1916, was responsible for the collecting and preservation of these documents. They now reside in Ottawa at Library and Archives Canada and are available online. Covering the period from 1 June 1917 to 31 May 1919, the diary is open at the entries for November 7 to 11, 1918. The entry for 11 November, in addition to routine information, has the following terse statement: 'Headquarters Canadian Corps advised all units that hostilities were to cease at 11:00 hours.' The diary is from the library of Colonel George A. Cline (1888-1960), D.S.O., officer commanding the Canadian Corps Signal Company from July 1918. A graduate of Victoria College, Cline was an instructor at the University of Toronto in 1914.

26 *The Maple Leaf Magazine*. [London: Printed by Page & Thomas], 1915-[191-].

The Maple Leaf Magazine began life as a publication of the Canadian Expeditionary Force Pay and Record Office, and was sold for the benefit of the Canadian Prisoners of War and Field Forces Cigarette and Tobacco Fund. Later the name of the fund was changed to 'The Maple Leaf Tobacco Fund' and it was administered solely on behalf of prisoners of war, in conjunction with the Canadian Red Cross Society. In describing the fund, the editors of the magazine pointed out that tobacco was one of the things the soldiers believed would help win the war, the importance of which was recognized by senior officers, and a pleasure the soldiers found the hardest to deny themselves. Each issue provided a detailed price list for the items to be purchased with money donated to the fund: for example, 430 Woodbine cigarettes cost $1.00 while the more expensive Player's Navy Cut cigarettes were priced at 200 for $1.00. Arrangements were made with the British American Tobacco Company to supply, pack, and ship the tobacco products. A postcard with the sender's name was enclosed with every parcel so that the soldiers receiving the tobacco could acknowledge the gift.

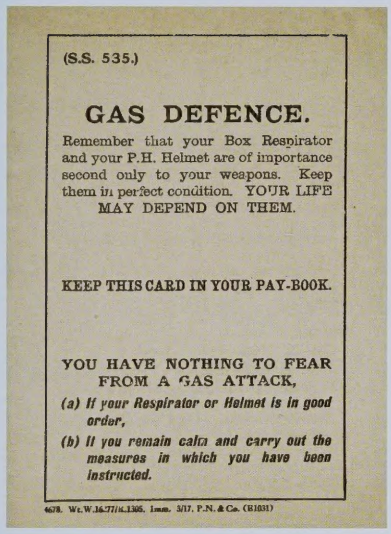
The magazine's content was designed to appeal to the general public while at the same time promoting Canada's war effort. Short works of fiction, articles on battles often written by soldiers who were participants, press communiqués and official photographs from the Canadian War Records Office, profiles of war leaders, humorous pieces and

poetry similar to those found in trench journals, and reviews of recently published war books were some of the items that appeared in the magazine.

27 *Questions a Platoon Commander should ask himself before an attack*; and, *Questions a Platoon Commander should ask himself when the objective has been gained.* [London: War Office, 1917?].

28 *Gas Defence*. [S.l., s.n., 1917?].

These two pocket-sized publications, both consisting of a single sheet folded once to form two leaves, were issued by



(S.S. 535.)

GAS DEFENCE.

Remember that your Box Respirator and your P.H. Helmet are of importance second only to your weapons. Keep them in perfect condition. YOUR LIFE MAY DEPEND ON THEM.

KEEP THIS CARD IN YOUR PAY-BOOK.

YOU HAVE NOTHING TO FEAR FROM A GAS ATTACK,

(a) If your Respirator or Helmet is in good order,

(b) If you remain calm and carry out the measures in which you have been instructed.

4678. Wt. W.16.77/6.1365. 1mm. 5/17. P.N. & Co. (81031)

the British military authorities. *Questions a Platoon Commander should ask himself* had two purposes: the first was to assist junior officers in preparing for an attack, and the second was to provide guidance for assessing the situation once the objective had been reached. A total of fifty questions were printed on the card; examples include 'Do I know exactly what objectives have been allotted (a) to my platoon, (b) to my Company, (c) to my Battalion? Have I a map showing them?', 'Do I understand the barrage lines and timing of lifts in the Artillery Programme?' and 'Am I doing all I can to consolidate the position and am I consolidating in the best place?'

Gas Defence consisted of instructions on the proper way to carry and to use the box respirators and PH (Phenate Hexamine) gas helmets, devices impregnated with chemicals to counteract the effects of chlorine and phosgene, and standard equipment for all soldiers. As the publication emphasized, both were of an importance second only to their weapons. The soldiers were warned to keep them in good condition. 'YOUR LIFE MAY DEPEND ON THEM.'

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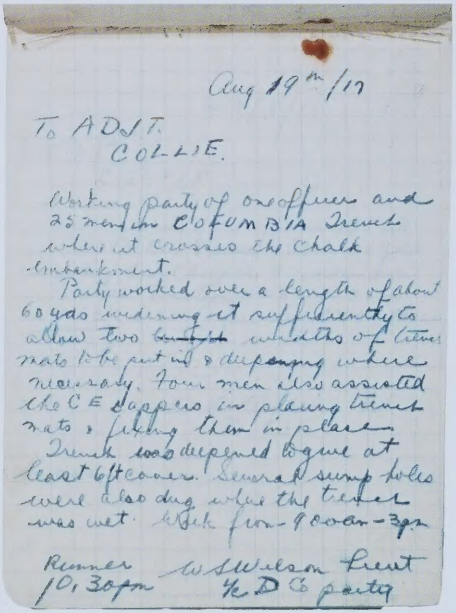
29 Lieutenant William Stewart Wilson (1894-1966) – Notebook.

William Stewart Wilson joined the 38th Battalion at the end of December 1916 as a replacement officer following the battalion's heavy losses sustained in the final battles on the Somme the previous month. Among the duties of a junior officer was supervising the work of fatigue parties, an onerous responsibility not least because the enlisted men who provided the manual labour in digging trenches, repairing barbed wire and similar tasks, disliked the assignment. Wilson's notebook is open at an entry in which he outlines one such work detail.

> Aug. 19th/17
> To Adjt. Collie
>
> Working party of one officer and 25 men in COLUMBIA Trench where it crosses the chalk embankment. Party worked over a length of about 60 yds widening it sufficiently to allow two widths of trench mats to be put in and deepening where necessary. Four men also assisted the C.E. sappers in placing trench mats and fixing them in place. Trench was deepened to give at least 6 ft. cover.



Aug 19th/17

To ADJT.
COLLIE.

Working party of one officer and 25 men in COLUMBIA Trench where it crosses the Chalk embankment.

Party worked over a length of about 60 yds widening it sufficiently to allow two ~~[illegible]~~ widths of trench mats to be put in & deepening where necessary. Four men also assisted the C E sappers in placing trench mats & fixing them in place.

Trench was deepened to give at least 6 ft cover. Several sump holes were also dug where the trench was wet. Work from 9:00 am – 3 pm

Runner 10:30 pm W S Wilson Lieut 1/c D Co party

Several sump holes were also dug where the trench was wet. Work from 9:00 am – 3 pm./ Runner 10:30 pm. W.S. Wilson Lieut. 1/c D Co. party.

Wilson graduated from the University of Toronto in 1921 with a Bachelor of Applied Science. In 1927 he was appointed Secretary of the Faculty of Applied Science and Engineering, and in 1941 was named Assistant Dean. Wilson retired from the Engineering Faculty in June 1962, and was appointed Registrar of New College the following month. He ended his university career in that capacity.

30 Hugh R. Kay (1890-1917). *The History of the Forty-third Battery C.F.A.: Vol. 1*. Edinburgh: Printed for private circulation by Neill & Co., Ltd., 1918.

31 Hugh R. Kay, George Magee and F.A. MacLennan. *Battery Action!: the Story of the 43rd Battery C.F.A.* Toronto: Warwick Bros. & Rutter, [1919?].

The History of the Forty-third Battery C.F.A. recounts the story of the formation, training, and active service of the battery to September 1917. The author, Hugh Kay, a gunner with the battery and former student of Knox College, University of Toronto, was killed in action at Passchendaele on 6 November 1917. This is a more personal account of a unit than other such histories. Written in a casual style, the book is less a recitation of facts than a highly entertaining and humorous portrait of life in the battery and of the colourful personalities serving with the unit. Following Kay's death, the history was continued by Gunner George Magee, but like his predecessor, he did not live to complete the work. Magee was killed in action in September 1918. As the editors of *Battery Action!* indicate, they 'were fortunate in securing [Magee's] manuscript for inclusion here and one felt compelled to handle reverently those water-stained pages, brown from a year's travel in haversack or blanket-roll at the front, with his clear handwriting in indelible lead like a voice from the past.' Together with Kay's previously published material and that of Magee and the editors, the story of the 43rd Battery was taken to the time of the unit's return to Canada in 1919.

32 Frank S. Brown (1893-1915). *Contingent Ditties and Other Soldier Songs of the Great War*. Edited by Holbrook Jackson. London: Sampson Low, Marston, 1915.

Sergeant Brown, of the Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry, came to England with the First Contingent, but the battalion did not remain long with the Canadian forces training on Salisbury Plain. On 14 November 1914, the Princess Pats joined the 80th Brigade of the 27th British Division, and the following month embarked for France, the first Canadian troops to do so. Brown, ill at the time of the battalion's departure, did not reach the front until February 1915, and was killed his first day in the trenches at St. Eloi. Known as 'the poet of the Pats', Brown's heroic verse reflects a patriotic response typical of the early months of the war, and also of a soldier who had yet to experience for himself the horrors of trench warfare. This naïve perspective was shared by other soldier poets like Siegfried Sassoon (1886-1967) and Wilfred Owen (1893-1918), whose poetry showed similar sentiments, and only changed once they had spent time in the front lines under enemy fire. In the preface to the book, the editor states that it was 'idle to speculate as to what Frank Brown might have done had his life been spared. Here are his poems, good honest stuff, brave in thought and patriotic in ideal, as befit a soldier of the Empire.' The poem below is an example of Brown's work.

The P. P. C. L. I. (Princess Pat's)

The trumpet sounded loud o'er hill and plain:
To Arms! To Arms! Our Empire is at war!
Come, join your colours, on the land or main,
All Britons who have served the King before.

And in the mountain mine; by prairie plow,
They answered to the trumpet's brazen voice:
They, who had served the Empire long enow
As soldiers by profession and from choice.

No conscripts, these, in whose unwilling hands
Weapons are thrust, to wage unwilling strife,
But – freeman all, who needed not commands
To volunteer their service, limb and life.

Thus rose a regiment, as 'neath a wand,
Of seasoned men, with medalled service too:
Soldiers from every corps throughout the land –
Britons beyond the seas; tried men and true.

This is indeed a princely gift to give
To our Imperial Realm in crisis sore –
Proud in the nation of the sturdy men,
And prouder yet of him who raised the Corps.

Then go, ye able sons of Britain's soil,
To take your place, wherever it may be;
God speed you in the glory – and the toil,
Princess Patricia's Canadian Infantry.

33 Robert W. Service (1874-1958). *Rhymes of a Red Cross Man*. New York: Barse & Hopkins, 1916.

Rejected for military service at the beginning of the war as medically unfit, the forty-one-year-old author of such popular works as *Songs of a Sourdough* and *Ballads of a Cheechako* enlisted in September 1915 as a driver with an American ambulance unit attached to the French army. Service's experience at the front formed the basis of the poems that appeared in the 1916 collection, *Rhymes of a Red Cross Man*, published in Toronto, London, and New York. The copy on display is an American illustrated edition with eight full-page colour illustrations and many smaller black and white drawings by the American artist Charles L. Wrenn (1880-1952). The book is dedicated to the memory of Service's younger brother, Albert, a lieutenant in the 52nd Canadian Infantry Battalion, who was killed by a German shell on 18 August 1916 near Ypres.

34 *Canadian Corps Championships: France, Dominion Day, 1918*. London: Printed by Jordan-Gaskell, [1918].

When soldiers were out of the line in rest areas, the military authorities ensured that much of their time was occupied in training and taking part in work details. There were, however, opportunities to relax, and participation in sporting events was encouraged. Not only did this prevent boredom and its attendant problems, but while keeping the men fit, sports competitions also built camaraderie and healthy rivalries between units of the C.E.F. Every unit played informal sports of various kinds, although the authorities also organized more competitive day-long brigade and divisional sporting events, culminating in the winners meeting at the Canadian Corps Championships held on 1 July 1918 at

Tincques, a village fourteen miles west of Arras. A large stadium and a quarter-mile track were built for the events. In front of Lieutenant-General Sir Arthur Currie (1875-1933), H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught, Sir Robert Borden, other distinguished guests and more than thirty thousand soldiers, seven hundred and fifty men competed in the events including the one-hundred yard dash, the three-mile run, baseball, wrestling, and boxing. The large format souvenir publication on display, illustrated with many photographs, gives a schedule of events, the names of the judges and officials, and, of course, a list of the winners.

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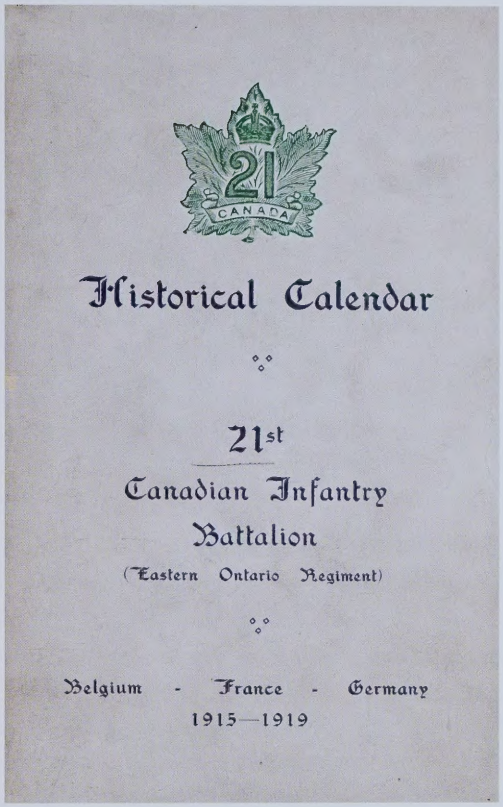
35 Canada. Army. 21st Canadian Infantry Battalion. *Historical Calendar 21st Canadian Infantry Battalion (Eastern Ontario Regiment) Belgium – France – Germany 1915-1919*. London: Gale & Polden, 1919.



At war's end and prior to demobilization, many units of the Canadian Corps wrote short, informal histories of their wartime experiences as keepsakes or souvenirs. The form these memories took varied from unit to unit, some producing quite lengthy narratives complete with photographs and illustrations; others were simpler affairs with the briefest of information given. The *Historical Calendar* of the 21st Canadian Infantry Battalion, a slight publication of seventy-two pages, outlines the history of the battalion, from its formation in October 1914 with men from Eastern Ontario (Ottawa, Kingston, Belleville, Lindsay, and others), and continuing with a description of the training programmes in Canada and England, and their arrival in France in September 1915 as part of the Second Canadian Division. This is followed by brief biographical sketches of the four commanding officers, and a list of officers who served with the unit. The main portion of the booklet is the historical calendar, a nearly day-by-day account highlighting the major events in the life of the battalion.

36 Clifford Almon Wells (1892-1917). *From Montreal to Vimy Ridge and Beyond: the Correspondence of Lieut. Clifford Almon Wells, B.A., of the 8th Battalion Canadians, B.E.F., November, 1915 – April, 1917.* Edited by O.C.S. Wallace. Toronto: McClelland, Goodchild & Stewart, 1917.

Clifford Wells was doing graduate work in the Department of Archaeology at Johns Hopkins University when he decided to enlist in September 1915. He joined the 4th University Company, a reinforcing unit of the Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry, later transferring to the 8th Battalion. The letters in this book, edited by Wells' step-father and addressed to members of his family, cover an eighteen-month period which saw the battalion take part in several major engagements, including Vimy Ridge. In Wells' last letter, dated 20 April 1917, he writes of the battle: 'The Huns were completely surprised, strange as it seems, and made little resistance. Our artillery barrage was wonderful beyond description, lifting forward from objective to objective with clocklike precision, and practically obliterating the German trenches as it passed them.' Following Vimy, the Canadian Corps continued to apply pressure on the Germans. On 28 April, the 8th Battalion was involved in another battle at the cost of three hundred casualties of whom fifty were killed, including Lieutenant Wells.

37 Sir Archibald Cameron Macdonnell (1864-1941). *Final Order of the Day.* London: Barrs & Co., Printers, [1919].

In his final order as the officer commanding the First Canadian Division, Major-General Sir Archibald Macdonnell offers an emotional farewell to the men under

his command as they prepare to demobilize and return to Canada following the armistice. Recounting with pride the shared memories, the battles fought, and the accomplishments of the division in nearly four years of war, he urges his soldiers to take the same spirit of loyalty and esprit de corps into civilian life. 'Let us so conduct ourselves in civil life as to bring further credit on the 'Old Red Patch [the divisional battle patch insignia],' the proudest of them all, the ones the Huns knew best and liked the least.'

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38 C.B. Lindsey. *The Story of the Fourth Canadian Division 1916-1919*. Aldershot: Printed by Gale & Polden Ltd., [1919?].

This brief history of the Fourth Canadian Division was prepared quickly, so that it could be given to the men as a souvenir of their army experiences before they embarked for Canada following the war's end. The final pages contain a farewell from Major-General Sir David Watson (1871-1922), commander of the division. Similar in tone to Macdonnell's address (q.v.), Watson's words pay tribute to the men who were killed in battle: 'those gallant comrades whom we are leaving behind – men who have made the greatest sacrifice, and whose gallantry and devotion have made it possible, that our country and our posterity shall live in freedom and security for all time to come.

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39 *Canada Victory Souvenir*. London: Canada Newspaper Co., 1919.

Photography was a pervasive and effective medium publicizing the Canadian military effort during the First World War. The book on display is a pictorial tribute to the Canadian Corps and to its achievements on the battlefields of France and Belgium. Most of the photographs reproduced in the text were taken by the Canadian Official Photographer.

CASE FOUR

A Soldier's View

'A soldier waiting to go over the parapet with his platoon remarks to the Sergeant, 'I suppose we shall be making history in a few minutes.' 'History, be blowed!' replies the Sergeant; 'What you have to make is geography.' This story is typical of the humour found in trench journals and unit magazines written by soldiers to amuse and, to a lesser extent, inform their comrades. The military authorities took a somewhat different perspective, viewing these publications as a way of maintaining morale and building an esprit de corps. Trench journals were 'printed under shell fire,' quite literally written and published within range of enemy artillery. The distinction of being the first trench journal on the Western Front lies, most likely, with *The Fifth Gloucester Gazette*, published by an English battalion, which made its appearance in April 1915 with an initial print run of fifty copies. The most famous trench publication, *The Wipers Times*, was also English. Captain F.J. Roberts, an officer with the British Army's 12th Sherwood Foresters, after discovering the remains of a printing works in the rubble of Ypres, began publishing the newspaper in February 1916. The Canadian forces, too, had their own trench journals, often with names evocative of the war – *The Listening Post*, produced by the 7th Battalion, the *Dead Horse Corner Gazette* from the 4th Battalion, and the 16th Battalion's *The Brazier*. Because of the circumstances under which the editors operated, these journals were limited to eight to twelve pages, crudely produced with minimal design and layout, the occasional hand-drawn illustration or cartoon used to enliven the text. Humour, poetry, and light-hearted articles describing the absurdities of military life fill the pages, providing a diversion from the hardships of the trenches. Responsibility for the editorial work, often carried out by those having previous journalistic experience, varied from journal to journal, in some cases overseen by officers, in other instances by sergeants and corporals, with contributions solicited from members of the battalion or combat unit. The intended audience was small, usually the men in the unit, although as time went on some of the more popular journals achieved a much wider readership. The frequency with which they appeared varied as the uncertain plans of the military high command and the enemy made strict publication schedules impossible. Disclaimers, 'printed twice monthly (Huns permitting),' 'when possible, according to the exigencies of the service,' or 'weather, wind, and war permitting,' were common.

Unit magazines were generally more substantial publications, written and produced away from the front lines, often at bases in England. Distanced from the pressures at the front, they were published on a regular schedule. In some instances the funding available was more generous, the costs underwritten in part by the selling of advertising space, making it possible to employ higher quality commercial printers. The results were obvious – better materials, covers printed in colour and the generous use of illustrations and photographs throughout. While these magazines too

contained their fair share of humorous anecdotes and stories, more complete accounts of the activities of the unit and its officers and men tend to be the norm. In addition to articles written by the soldiers, contributions were requested from well-known writers and artists who consented to having their work reprinted. Although written for the soldiers, some magazines were also designed as souvenirs or keepsakes for family and friends back home.

Both trench journals and unit magazines were subject to the same censorship that applied to other aspects of soldiers' lives. Senior officers did examine the copy to ensure that nothing of a sensitive nature or prejudicial to good discipline was printed. The editors made light of any restrictions thus imposed. The title-pages of all four issues of *The Strafer*, the publication of the 66th Battery, C.F.A., carried the statement, 'We speak the truth and the whole truth sohelpmehannah! Not so much as we would, but as much as we dare.' Other editors displayed a slight note of exasperation at these restrictions. The first issue of *The Canadian Sapper* has sections in the text of the magazine left blank, courtesy of the censor. As the editor drolly explained to his readers: 'The Censor has assisted in editing this Magazine – hence the 'Blank Companies' here and there. In return, we hope to fill his 'Blank Files' with copies of our future issues.' How much censorship actually went on is impossible to determine, and self-censorship must have been practised, but despite this, a degree of latitude is apparent and the authentic voice of the soldiers remains.

Trench journals and unit magazines contained little news of home or the progress of the war. On occasion, reference would be made to political events in Canada such as the extension of the franchise to women in Manitoba, or the election of the Unionist Government in December 1917. What comes through most strongly in these publications is the humour, both in the writing and in the illustrations. This is particularly true of the trench journals which used black humour ('He who flops the quickest lasts longest'; 'The hero stunt is great but we are a long time dead') to mitigate some of the worse elements of life in the trenches, an escape from the mud, fatigue, shells, stench, and above all, the randomness and unpredictability of death which typified trench warfare. A vivid portrait emerges of soldiers' lives, the intonations of speech, the trench idiom and slang, and most importantly, the irrepressible cheerfulness and indomitable spirit of the men.

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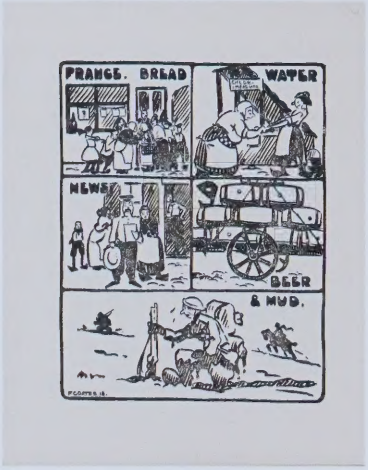
40 *The Strafer*. Godalming: Graddock, printer, [1917-191-].

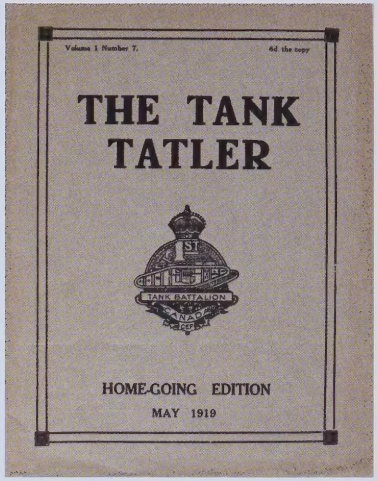
The 66th Battery, Canadian Field Artillery, was recruited in Montreal in the spring of 1916 and sent to England that September. Together with other units of the 14th Brigade, C.F.A., including the 56th Howitzer Battery, the 66th went to France in August 1917. At the end of the war, the unit, as part of an advance guard, was the first battery in the British Army to cross the Rhine. Only four issues of the unit's journal were published, the first three of which were printed in Godalming, a small market town in Surrey near the Canadian training areas. The irreverence of some of the humour is demonstrated in a line from the first issue: 'The



tailor that pegged the Sergeant-Major's breeches must have been the composer of "They're wearing them higher in Hawaii!"

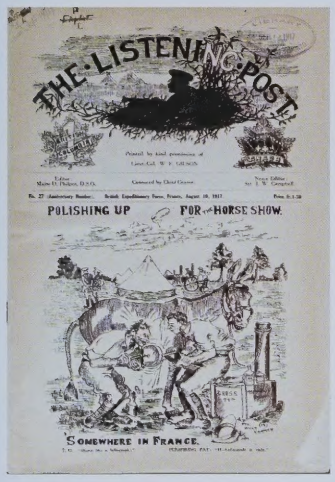
41 *The Tank Tatler*. [London: Polsue], 1918-1919.

The editors of *The Tank Tatler*, the 'newspaper' of the First Canadian Tank Battalion, were both former journalists, Corporal J.G. Johnston, of the *Buffalo Express*, and Private F.S. Chalmers, of the *Toronto World*. Organized in April 1918, the battalion recruited its men from universities: the University of Toronto and McGill each supplied one company. The battalion never saw front-line service. By the time the unit reached England and completed its training, the war had ended. In all, seven issues of *The Tank Tatler* were published.



42 *The Listening Post*. [Bailleul]: British Expeditionary Force, France, 1915-1919.

Published twice monthly ('according to the exigencies of the service') by the 7th Canadian Infantry Battalion (1st British Columbia Regiment), this trench journal was launched on 10 August 1915, with the intention of helping to create the 'British Columbia spirit.' According to one source, this was the first paper published by any Canadian unit in the field, and its popularity with soldiers beyond the battalion was such that at one point circulation reached twenty thousand (*The Maple Leaf Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 1: 72). The first issues were eight pages in length, printed in two columns, and sparsely illustrated with simple line drawings; by 1918, the issues had grown to twenty-four pages (special issues were larger still), and included more sophisticated cartoons and



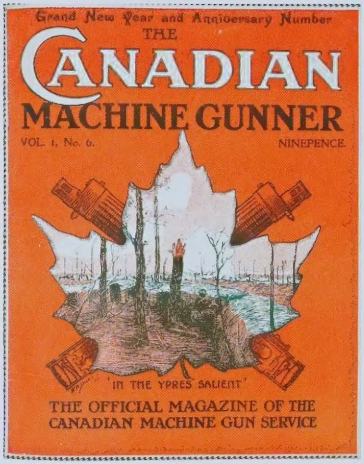
the introduction of photographs. In content, *The Listening Post* was similar to other trench publications – news of interest to battalion members such as personnel changes, poetry, and humorous anecdotes and jokes. One example will demonstrate the flavour of the humour. An article in issue twenty-seven gave definitions of trench terms: 'Communication trench: a ghastly hash in the earth's surface designed by the Engineers as an excuse for demanding infantry working parties. Generally wanders at will around the country with the object of landing the traveller back where he started. Non-swimmers should always travel over the top.'

43 *The Twentieth Gazette*. Flanders: s.n., 1915-[191-].

The Twentieth (Northern and Central Ontario Regiment) Battalion was formed in November 1914 of volunteers from twelve rural militia units. They spent the next seven months training at the Exhibition Grounds in Toronto. It was while they were in Toronto that *The Twentieth Gazette* was founded by Company Quartermaster Sergeant H. Wreford Clarke and Sergeant W.W. Murray, who also became its editors. The battalion history has this to say of Clarke and Murray: 'Absence of journalistic experience deterred neither of them from establishing their whimsical little sheet. They developed quite a news instinct, and made the publication popular by being bold enough to take a sly dig at the Commanding Officer, to feign respect for majors, to treat captains with cynicism, to be distressingly sarcastic about subalterns, to be openly insulting about sergeants, to be abusive about corporals, but wise enough to be extremely polite about privates' (Corrigal: 8). The battalion was sent to England in the spring of 1915 and reached Belgium in September as part of the 4th Brigade of the Second Canadian Division. Several issues of *The Twentieth Gazette* appeared while the troops were training at West Sandling and publication of the journal continued on the Western Front.

44 *The Canadian Machine Gunner*. [Seaford, Eng.: Canadian Machine Gun Depot], 1917-1919.

The official magazine of the Canadian Machine Gun Service was published at the unit's depot in England, first located at Crowborough and later at Seaford, Sussex.



Eighteen issues were published, beginning with the first number in January 1917 and ending with the Christmas, New Year, and Farewell number in January 1919. The magazine was intended to promote the activities of the Machine Gun Service, create an esprit de corps and afford the opportunity for the officers and other ranks to keep in touch with one another. Several trench and unit publications printed humorous variations of the Ten Commandments, modified to fit their particular circumstances. For example, the fourth commandment of the Machine Gunners states: 'Remember thou rest on the Sabbath. Six days thou shalt labour and do all thou art told to do; but on the seventh day thou shalt do fatigues. On it thou shalt do all manner of work, thou and thy section, even unto scanning of thy shirt'; while the tenth commandment declares: 'Thou shalt not covet the transport driver his job, nor his rations, nor his horse, nor his billet, nor any other 'cushy' thing that is his.'

45 *The Rouelles Camp Magazine*. [Le Havre: Impr. du Havre-Éclair], 1916-[191-].

This monthly magazine was first published in April 1916 by the staff of the Canadian Base Depot at Le Havre, France. Two reasons were given by the editors for a publication of this sort: the depot was the centre of activity as reinforcements and wounded soldiers returning to every Canadian unit in France passed through it; and as a souvenir of the war, the magazine had added interest because it was written and printed in France and 'near enough to the Front to catch half the truth and all the rumours, which is quite satisfactory after all.'

46 *The Iodine Chronicle*. [France: No. 1 Field Ambulance, Canadian Expeditionary Force, 1915-191-].

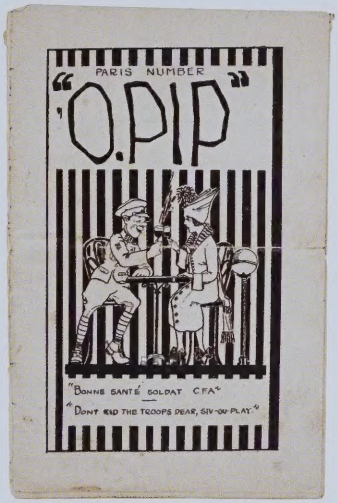
According to the official history of the medical services during the war, field ambulances were mobile units stationed in or near the front lines and were responsible for collecting, treating, and evacuating the wounded. Typically, each brigade of infantry was allocated one field ambulance whose personnel included nine medical officers and two hundred and thirty-eight other ranks.

The Iodine Chronicle, the journal of the 1st Canadian Field Ambulance, was the second paper printed by the Canadian forces in the field, appearing in the fall of 1915. Following the publication of the sixth number, a decision was made to

combine the journal with those of two sister ambulances in the First Canadian Division, the 2nd Ambulance's *The Splint Record*, and the 3rd Ambulance's *Now & Then*. The separate identity of the three units was maintained in the new publication, *N.Y.D.*, by giving each ambulance two of the eight pages. With the Easter 1918 issue, on display in the exhibition, *The Iodine Chronicle* resumed its separate existence.

47 *The "O.Pip."* [France: 58th Battery, C.F.A., 1915?-1919].

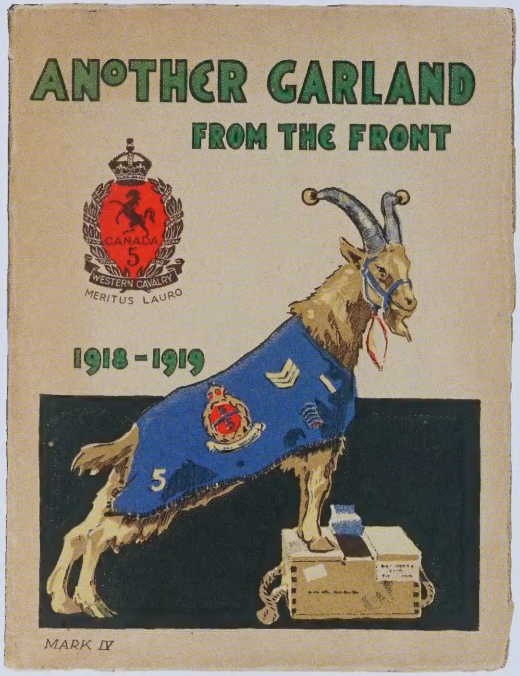
The title of the journal refers to the soldiers' slang for an observation post, an advanced position from which members of a battery observed enemy movements and directed artillery fire. The 58th Howitzer Battery was assembled at Fredericton, New Brunswick in April 1916, and sailed to England at the end of September. Over the next eleven months the men trained at Witley Camp, Surrey, and spent time on special courses in gunnery, ordnance work, and saddlery. As part of the 14th Brigade, C.F.A., the battery went to France in August 1917, and ended the war as one of the Canadian Corps units stationed in Germany. From their base at Ostheim, near Cologne, the final issue of *"O.Pip"* appeared, 'an historical souvenir of the life and career of the Battery that every member of the unit may wish to retain in future years as a memento and reminder of his participation in the War and of the friendships formed therein.' The Paris number (on display) is a light-hearted look, in words and



cartoons, at Canadian soldiers visiting the city while on leave.

48 *Another Garland from the Front.* [London: G. Pulman], 1915-1918.

Four annual Christmas issues, beginning with 1915, appeared in response to a 'demand for something distinctive of the [5th] Battalion which at this particular time of the year would be suitable for all ranks to send from the trenches to friends and relatives in the British Isles and Canada.' The first number was entitled *A Christmas Garland from the Front*, with subsequent issues called *Another Garland from the Front*. The 5th Battalion was composed



mainly of cavalry units from the Western Provinces which were converted to infantry when they joined the First Contingent. The battalion landed on French soil on 15 February 1915 and fought at several famous battles: the Second Battle of Ypres, Festubert, Hill 60, the Somme, Vimy, Hill 70, and Passchendaele. One of the editors of the magazine, Lieutenant W.M. Scanlon, a journalist by profession, was killed in action of 9 April 1917, while leading his platoon in an attack on Vimy Ridge. Another editor, Sergeant R.M. Eassie (1875-1940), was a poet whose book, *Odes to Trifles and Other Rhymes*, was published in 1917 in both Canada and Britain. Following a format similar to those of other unit magazines, the contents of *Another Garland from the Front* included a mixture of short pieces of fiction, articles on the history of the battalion and its role in the war, excerpts from officers' notebooks and soldiers' diaries, poetry, cartoons, and jokes. A humorous feature was 'Tommy's Compendium of French words and phrases. Part 33', 'With the abso-blooming-lutely kerrect pronunciation and free translation', of which two examples will suffice:

> Qu'est-ce qu'il y a là?
> Keskill yahlah?
> I believe there's a drink in his haversack.
>
> Ils vous mettent tout à fait à votre aise.
> Eel voo mett toot ah fay a votrer aise.
> I have just finished my gas course.

The front cover of Mark IV depicting Billy, the battalion mascot, was designed by Major Richard Jack (1866-1952), A.R.A., whose painting of Canadian soldiers during the Second Battle of Ypres was the first commissioned work of the Canadian War Memorials Fund.

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49 *The Canadian Sapper*. [Seaford, Eng.: Canadian Engineers Training Depot, 1918-].

The Canadian Engineer Corps was responsible for the construction of defences, including trenches and strong

points, sanitation systems, water supplies, and related activities. *The Canadian Sapper*, the official magazine of the Engineers, was published monthly at their training depot in England. Designed to inform the units of the Corps of social and sporting events and entertainments, the magazine included illustrations and articles of general interest to the Engineers. *The Canadian Sapper* also printed rolls of honour, decorations awarded to officers and men, lists of officers in hospital, and notices of marriage.

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50 *The Message from Mars: Being a Christmas Greeting from the Officers, Non-commissioned Officers and Men of the 4th Canadian Division, B.E.F., to Friends the Wide World Over*. London: Published for the 4th Canadian Division by the Carlton Studio, [1918].

An attractively designed Christmas souvenir magazine with the work of several well-known authors such as Rudyard Kipling (1865-1936), J.C. Squire (1884-1958), and Boyd Cable (1878-1943) reprinted in its pages. Illustrations by Louis Raemaekers (1869-1956) and Frank Reynolds (1876-1953) are reproduced as are paintings of William Orpen (1878-1931), Richard Jack, and Cyril Barraud (1877-1965), the latter works courtesy of the Canadian War Records Office which also gave permission to the editors to use war photographs from its collections. Loosely inserted is a single sheet of paper with a printed Christmas greeting to recipients of the magazine:

"The Message from Mars" comes to you bearing a message for Christmas a message of peace and goodwill from the battlefields of Europe which have been the home of the 4th Canadian Division for the last two years and where it is still going strong – We shall be talking of you and we know you will be talking of us at the same time – There's an echo of victory in the sky this winter, who knows but we shall be all together next Christmas – In any case A Merry Christmas to you and, though the seas divide us, let us sing together the old song: AULD LANG SYNE.

CASE FIVE

Recording the War

If trench journals and unit publications provided a soldier's view of the war, those issued by the Canadian War Records Office represented a conscious attempt by the Canadian government to shape public perceptions of the country's military efforts. Of concern to the Borden government from the beginning of the war was the need to establish the Canadian military forces that were training in England and fighting on the Western Front as a separate and distinctive entity; this was especially important as tactical control of those forces resided with the British military high command. At the same time, the Prime Minister and Sam Hughes, the Minister of Militia and Defence, needed someone to keep them fully informed of events at the heart of the Allied war effort. The Canadian government found their man in Max Aitken (1878-1964), the future Lord Beaverbrook, an ambitious, self-made millionaire from New Brunswick. Aitken moved to England in 1910, embarking on a political career when elected later that year to the British House of Commons. Aitken had ties to the Canadian Conservative Party, and more importantly, to Hughes, to whose campaign he contributed money during the general election of 1911. In September 1914, Aitken travelled to Canada and met with Borden and Hughes to discuss the role he might play in assisting the war effort. The informal and vague parameters of the position created for him, that of 'Canadian Eye Witness', appealed to Hughes and Aitken, both of whom preferred to follow their own inclinations rather than be constrained by rules and regulations, seeing mutual advantage in making Aitken 'the voice of Canada in Great Britain' (Taylor: 87). Capitalizing on the confused state of affairs then existing in the Canadian military command structure in Britain, Aitken, an honorary lieutenant-colonel, expanded his original mandate to include liaison with the British high command. He also became the self-appointed historian and publicist for the Canadian forces in France and Flanders (Cook, "Documenting War...": 271). How Canada's role in the ongoing conflict was to be documented and presented to the Canadian public was a vital question, particularly as a stalemate on the Western Front developed and it became increasingly apparent the war would last far longer than most military and political leaders had anticipated. The government was also aware that maintaining the fighting spirit and morale of the people back home would be crucial to the successful prosecution of the war.

Aitken's roving commission gave him unfettered access to the war zone and to senior Canadian field officers at a time when few journalists were allowed near the fighting. From these and other sources he sent back reports to Ottawa and wrote colourful accounts of heroic Canadian military actions in Canadian newspapers. To these responsibilities was later added a custodial or archival element, the gathering together of Canadian war records created by combat units – divisional orders, situation reports, war

diaries, maps and photographs – under the rubric, 'Canadian Record Officer', a title Aitken gave himself. The increasing work associated with the dual mandate of collecting war records and publicizing Canadian military achievements led to the establishment of the Canadian War Records Office in January 1916, under Aitken's overall direction. A small group of wounded soldiers and experienced writers were employed to continue the task of compiling information and despatching articles on the Canadian forces to Canadian, American and British newspapers (Cook, "Documenting War...": 277). The work of the office was not limited strictly to the printed word. To take advantage of the emotional and dramatic impact visual images of the war would have, official war photographers and a cinematography team were employed. The Canadian War Records Office sponsored highly successful photographic exhibitions in Britain and the United States, using photographs taken by the official photographers. From the Canadian War Records Office flowed a succession of descriptive communiqués and propaganda works designed to bring the contributions made by the Canadian fighting troops to the attention of the general public in Canada and the Allied nations. Various formats were used: a series of short works on Canadian battalions, popular war histories, pictorial magazines, a newspaper for the troops entitled the *Canadian Daily Record*, photographs, and film. The profits from the sale of these immensely successful publications and photographs and from the entrance fees to exhibitions were given to the Canadian War Memorials Fund, a registered charity set up in November 1916 and administered through the Canadian War Records Office to support the work of commissioned artists. As it was believed that 'only paintings could provide the most permanent and vital form in which the great deeds of the Canadian Nation in the war could be enshrined for posterity', artists received honorary commissions in the Canadian Expeditionary Force and were paid by the Canadian government (Tippett: 23). Many well-known British artists worked for the Fund, including Augustus John (1878-1961), Paul Nash (1889-1946), Wyndham Lewis (1882-1957), and C.R.W. Nevinson (1889-1946). The Fund also provided opportunities for Canadian artists such as A.Y. Jackson (1882-1974), F.H. Varley (1881-1969), and David Milne (1882-1953). By the time the Canadian War Memorials Fund was ended in 1921, a total of one hundred and sixteen artists had been employed, including sixty-six Britons and forty-three Canadians, and more than eight hundred paintings, sculptures, etchings, and lithographs had been completed.

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51 Sir Max Aitken (1879-1964). *Canada in Flanders*. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1916-1918.

Aitken, in his role as Canada's 'Eye Witness' at the front and publicist for the C.E.F., wrote stirring accounts of the exploits of Canadian soldiers for newspapers back home and in England. In January 1916, he published a book, *Canada in Flanders*, based on those reports, supplemented by the use of war diaries, official documents, and interviews with participants in the actions described. Aitken financed the cost of publication himself. The book was well received

and went through four printings in the first month (Cook, "Documenting War...": 275). One Aitken biographer called the book 'a fine piece of war reporting, the more striking because it had then few examples to follow' (Taylor: 88). Aitken describes briefly the formation and training of the First Canadian Division, but the main focus of the book is on the battles fought that spring and summer of 1915 – the Second Battle of Ypres, Festubert, and Givenchy. As popular history the book succeeds in bringing immediacy to the descriptions of the fighting and the heroic actions of individual officers and men. As a work of partisanship it also succeeds by its unequivocal patriotism, repeatedly lavishing praise on the Canadian feat of arms. The soldiers didn't just fight well, they 'fought with a gallantry and a dash, yet a tenacity, which have seldom, if ever, been equalled in military history' (Aitken: 23).

Two further volumes were published, the second concentrating on the battle of St. Eloi in April 1916, and the third, written by Charles G.D. Roberts (1860-1943), taking the story to the conclusion of the Battle of the Somme in November 1916. The armistice in 1918 precluded any further volumes being written.

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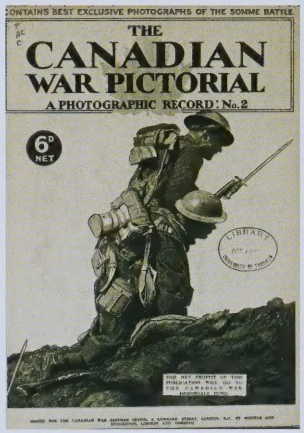
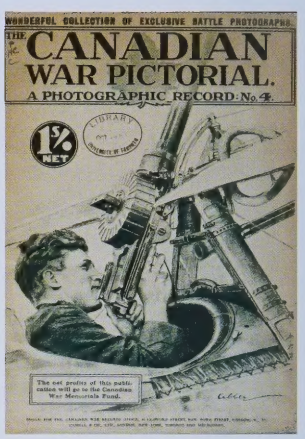
52 *The Canadian War Pictorial*. London: Canadian War Records Office, 1916-1918.

The images of the war seen by the Canadian public were strictly controlled by the authorities. A March 1915 order issued by the military high command proscribed the use of





cameras by officers and men in the front lines, in part to prevent potentially valuable information from being captured by the enemy, but also to avoid damaging morale at home by the dissemination of unacceptable images such as those of dead Canadian soldiers. Despite the restriction, soldiers were known to have carried small cameras with them into the trenches. One individual, Jack Turner, serving with the 2nd Canadian Siege Battery, used a small two inch by three inch camera and had his fiancée send him film hidden in fruitcakes (Fisher: 40). Max Aitken was quick to see the propaganda and promotional value of releasing approved images to Canadian newspapers, and successfully lobbied to have an official photographer attached to the Canadian Corps. The Canadian War Records Office issued its own publication, *The Canadian War Pictorial*, which highlighted the work of the official photographer, the pictures often accompanied by short descriptive essays. Captions such as 'Lunch in the Trenches', 'Ypres as a

Monument to German Kultur', and 'A Letter from Home', were printed beneath the photographs. In all, four issues of the popular magazine were published. The first number of the English edition sold out within five days of its appearance, and the Canadian edition was not large enough to fill advance orders. The illustration on the cover of the second issue is derived from an official photograph displayed in this case.

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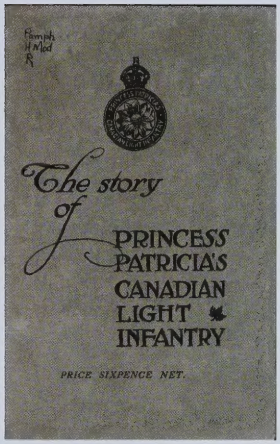
53 Robin Richards. *The Story of Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry, 1914-1917*. London: Printed and published for the Canadian War Records Office, [1918?].

Under the direction of Captain T.G. Roberts (1877-1953), younger brother of the writer Charles G.D. Roberts, the Canadian War Records Office produced a series of short histories of the battalions in the Canadian Expeditionary Force. Only a few were written before the war ended the project. The Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry was raised in the first month of the war partly from funds donated by the Montreal millionaire, Hamilton Gault (1882-1958), and was largely composed of British reservists and ex-soldiers. The battalion sailed to England with the First Contingent, but did not remain long with the Canadian forces training on Salisbury Plain. In November 1914, the Pats joined the 80th Brigade of the 27th British Division, and the following month left for France. Towards the end of 1915 the battalion returned to the Canadian



Corps, serving with the Third Division. Richards' history takes the battalion's story to November 1917.

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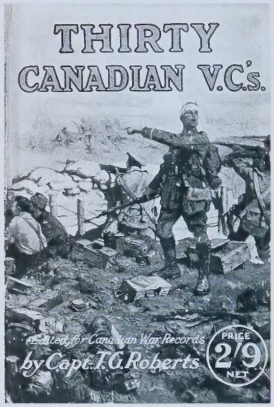
54 *Thirty Canadian V.Cs., 23rd April 1915 to 30th March 1918*. London: Skeffington, [1918].

This work consists of a series of brief narratives lauding the exploits of thirty officers and other ranks who won the Victoria Cross, Britain's highest military award for gallantry. Of the 633 medals bestowed on members of the British armed forces during the First World War, seventy-one were awarded to Canadians. Among the Victoria Cross winners described here are Billy Bishop (1894-1956), the famous flying ace, and Major Thain MacDowell (1890-1960), a graduate of the University of Toronto. Interestingly, on 16 May 2008, the Canadian government unveiled the



Canadian Victoria Cross to replace the Victoria Cross as this country's highest honour awarded to its soldiers. The accounts were written by three members of the Canadian War Records Office, Captain T.G. Roberts, and Privates Robin Richards and Stuart Martin. The dust jacket image is a detail from Richard Jack's painting of Canadian soldiers fighting at the Second Battle of Ypres.

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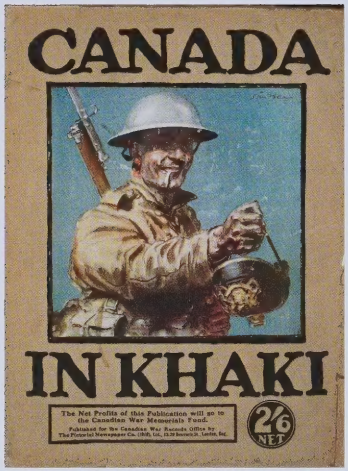
55 *Canada in Khaki*. London: Published for the Canadian War Records Office by the Pictorial Newspaper Co., 1917-1919.

Like *The Canadian War Pictorial*, the three commemorative volumes comprising *Canada in Khaki* were enormously popular. The first volume, published in January 1917, sold forty thousand copies the first week, completely selling out in Britain leaving no copies available for the Canadian market (Cook, "Documenting War...": 281). Although



soldiers' contributions are included, much of the content came from Canadian War Records Office staff and from professional writers such as Laurence Binyon (1869-1943), Sir Gilbert Parker (1862-1932), and Max Pemberton (1863-1950). Factual accounts of the war's progress are found alongside short fiction, humorous stories, and patriotic verse from civilians and soldier poets. These were all designed to entertain the reader, but more importantly, to portray the Canadian soldier and the country's military contributions in a unique and positive light. One article, entitled 'How Canada Answered the Call', by A.M. de Beck, appearing in the first number, gives the flavour of the publication. 'The Canadian Army is one of the keenest, sharpest, finest fighting machines that it would be possible for any nation to produce, and this applies to the officers as well as to the rank and file. Utterly and often foolishly reckless, they have proved themselves to be fighting men of the most superb

description. For even recklessness has the virtues of its qualities. It is not always the very careful man who is the most successful or who makes the best soldier. Canadian dash and recklessness have already done great things for the Empire. They are indeed qualities with which the enemy has been forced to reckon.'

Canada in Khaki is lavishly illustrated with the work of the official photographer, and with colour and black and white drawings and cartoons from such well-known artists as Byam Shaw (1872-1919), W.W. Russell (1867-1949), H.M. Bateman (1887-1970), and W. Heath Robinson (1872-1944). These images not only complement the text, but also reinforce the concept of the heroic Canadian soldier, carefully crafted by the Canadian War Records Office.

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56 J. George Adami (1862-1926). *War Story of the Canadian Army Medical Corps*. London: Published for the Canadian War Records Office by Colour Ltd. and the Rolls House Publishing Co., [1918?].

The first and only volume of this history of the Canadian Army Medical Corps to be published covers the period to the autumn of 1915. The author, Colonel Adami, was Assistant Director Medical Services in charge of records in the Office of the Director-General, Medical Services. As did other branches of the Canadian military, the medical services saw rapid expansion during the war. In August 1914, the army medical services consisted of twenty officers, five nursing sisters, and one hundred and two other ranks plus several units attached to the militia. By war's end, 1,528 officers, 1,901 nursing sisters, and 15,624 other ranks were serving overseas. An official history of the medical services by Sir Andrew MacPhail (1864-1938) was published in 1925.

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57 *Catalogue of the Canadian Official War Photographs Exhibition: for the Benefit of the Canadian War Memorials Fund*. Boston, Mass.: Printed by Southgate Press, [1918?].

An exhibition held in the United States and Canada consisting of one hundred and fifty-eight photographs shows the devastation caused by the shelling of Ypres, Vimy, Courcelette, and Sanctuary Wood. Scenes of Canadian soldiers in the trenches and relaxing out of the line are included along with shots of military equipment such as aircraft, kite balloons, and artillery pieces. Loosely inserted in the catalogue are thirty-two prints of photographs from the exhibition, each identified by a pencilled number on the back corresponding to the number in the catalogue. One of the photographs on display is number 90 bearing the caption, "'Time's Up – Over You Go" The Canadians swarming out of a trench over which shrapnel is bursting, to the charge.' G.W.L. Nicholson reproduced this image in the official history of the Canadian Expeditionary Force published in 1962. There is a strong possibility that the photograph was in fact staged. The Canadian War Records Office, in its efforts to publicize Canadian military exploits, did stage certain dramatic scenes when actual images were

unavailable. The likelihood of an official photographer stationed in the front line trenches before an attack is remote.

The photographs in these exhibitions were available for purchase, the proceeds going to the Canadian War Memorials Fund. The Toronto firm of H.G. Tugwell was an outlet that sold prints of official war photographs and specialized in producing sepia enlargements. An eleven by fourteen inch sepia print mounted on heavy cardboard was priced at $3.00; a forty by sixty inch print mounted on a stretcher cost $34.00.

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58 *Souvenir: New Exhibition of Canadian Official War Photographs in Colour*. London: Canadian War Records Office, [1919?].

The Canadian War Records Office sponsored a series of exhibitions in Britain, Canada, and the United States of photographs taken by the official photographer, with the aim of showing the public images of Canadian soldiers in action. The first such exhibition was held in December 1916 at the Grafton Galleries in London. It was followed by a second in July 1917, attended by over eighty thousand people, with both shows raising thousands of pounds through admissions and the sale of prints of the photographs. On display is a souvenir catalogue of an exhibition also held at the Grafton Galleries, the official opening taking place on 7 January 1919, with Sir Robert Borden, Lieutenant-General Sir Arthur Currie, and Sir Edward Kemp (1858-1929), the

Minister for the Overseas Military Forces of Canada, in attendance. According to a report appearing in *The Times*, one of the most striking features of the exhibition was a 'frieze 200 ft. long representing a panorama of some of the guns captured by the Canadians during the last great advance which took them to Mons' (*The Times*, January 8, 1919: 3). Fifty photographs showing the final battles of the war, from Amiens to Arras, Cambrai and Mons, and ending with the march to the Rhine after the armistice was signed, are reproduced in the catalogue.

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59 Letter (typescript) from Lord Beaverbrook, dated 13 May 1918, to Sir Edmund Walker.

With accompanying letter to Beaverbrook from Mr. Warren Soper dated 7 March 1918.

The initial focus of the Canadian War Memorials Fund had been on the recording of scenes and activities in the war zone. Beaverbrook came to the realization that a comprehensive visual record of Canada's war effort was incomplete without depicting the home front as well. Sir Edmund Walker (1848-1924), the president of the Canadian Bank of Commerce, was his choice to advise on the artists to be offered commissions in Canada on behalf of the Fund. A lifelong patron of the arts, a founding member of the Art Gallery of Toronto, and chairman of the Advisory Arts Council, Walker was uniquely qualified to act in this capacity. In a letter to Walker, Beaverbrook sought his advice on whether the Canadian artist, Carl Ahrens (1862-1936), recommended to Beaverbrook by the Ottawa businessman, Warren Soper, should be considered for inclusion among the artists the Fund was commissioning to paint scenes on the home front. Ahrens was not offered a commission.

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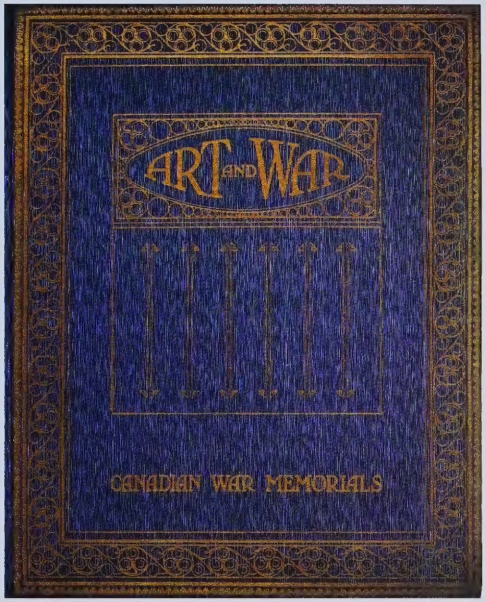
60 *Art & War: Canadian War Memorials*. London: Published for the Canadian War Records Office by Colour Ltd., [1919].

This beautifully produced 'gift' book contains forty-eight tipped-in colour plates together with eight black and white illustrations of art works commissioned or purchased by the Canadian War Memorials Fund. Accompanying the illustrations is an article on the history of war memorials from antiquity to the present by Paul G. Konody (1872-1933), the art critic for the *Daily Mail* and the *Observer*, who acted as an advisor to the Canadian War Memorials Fund and was responsible for selecting many of the artists. Konody articulated the two primary considerations facing the organizers of the Fund with respect to commissioning the art work. The first was



> ...the extraordinary complexity of the material that had to be dealt with, if the record was to comprise every phase of a war that was fought not only on land on three continents, but on the sea, under the sea, in the air, and, more than on any previous occasion, on what has been

aptly called the home front. The work in the munitions factories and dockyards, in training camp and hospital, in the lumber camps and on the land, in aviation works and in camouflage ateliers, on railway and on road, was as important as the fighting activity at the front. To do complete justice to all these phases was obviously an impossibility. The most that could be done was to select a few typical scenes of every kind of war work, which would show the progress from the earliest stages of preparation to the more exciting happenings in the trenches and on the battlefields (*Art & War:* 14-15).

The second consideration was maintaining an appropriate level of homogeneity while making the 'collection of memorial paintings truly representative of the artistic outlook during the momentous period of the great war... the aim was bound to be diversity rather than uniformity, but diversity kept under control, with a definite end in view. This end was, that the principal pictures should maintain a certain unity of scale and decorative treatment which would make them suitable to take their place in a specially designed architectural setting, the smaller paintings and sketches being left to be arranged in groups in the various galleries provided for this purpose... A balance was to be maintained between the historical and the aesthetic aspects' (*Art & War:* 15).

61 *Canadian War Memorials Exhibition.* [Ottawa?: s.n., 1919].

62 *Canadian War Memorials Paintings, 1920: New Series, the Last Phase.* [Canada: s.n., 1920].

An exhibition of the Canadian War Memorials Fund's four hundred and forty-seven paintings, drawings, and sculpture was held at the Royal Academy of Arts, Burlington House, London, in January 1919. From there the exhibition travelled to New York, opening at the Anderson Galleries on 10 June to positive reviews. *The New York Times* reported that the

works of art on display were 'unrivalled in historical interest, and surprisingly interesting in art, since the committee responsible for it made every effort to secure the services of artists of distinction representing every school and group of British art, from the most academic and traditional to the most revolutionary and advanced' (*The New York Times*, June 10, 1919: 14). In August the exhibition moved to Toronto's Canadian National Exhibition's Fine Arts Gallery, which had to be enlarged to accommodate the collection. Over a two-week period, more than one hundred thousand people viewed the exhibits.

The following year the balance of the Canadian War Memorials Fund's works executed abroad were brought over from England, and together with the home front paintings and sculpture went on display at the Canadian National Exhibition (Tippett: 95). The two hundred and forty-five items in the exhibition included works by Francis H. Johnston (1888-1949), Charles W. Jeffreys (1869-1951), Frances Loring (1887-1968), and Florence Wylie (1881-1968). Signed artist's proofs of war etchings, drypoints, and lithographs, listed in the catalogue accompanying the exhibition, were available for purchase as souvenirs or mementos. The original plan was to construct a specially designed building that would house approximately one thousand works of art, but nothing came of this plan. Eventually, the collection was divided among the National Gallery of Canada, the Canadian War Museum, and the Senate (Young: 11).

CASES SIX AND SEVEN

The Home Front

A spirit of volunteerism characterized much of the activity on the home front. This was reflected not simply in the masses of young men flocking to the recruiting depots and armouries in the early months of the war, but in the population as a whole. Immediately after the declaration of war, there was an outpouring of patriotic fervour, most evident perhaps in the voluntary organizations established to provide war relief to Belgian and French victims of German aggression, and also to families of Canadian soldiers in need, groups such as the Canadian Patriotic Fund and the Women's Patriotic League. Together with the Canadian Red Cross, the Y.M.C.A., the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire, and the many Women's Institutes across the country, volunteers expended huge amounts of time and energy in campaigns to raise money, to make clothing, and produce necessities and 'comforts' for the soldiers in the trenches or for those hospitalized with wounds. Women's involvement in these volunteer organizations was crucial and largely confirmed traditional roles, with the men collecting money for the patriotic funds and the women distributing the charity, knitting socks, and packing food parcels (Morton and Granatstein: 25). There were women, however, who broke with convention, and worked in factories and on farms, replacing the men who had joined up. By 1917, more than 30,000 women were employed in the muni-

tions industry. In the political sphere, the struggle for the franchise continued and was won in most provinces, at least partially in recognition of the contributions women made to the war effort.

Volunteerism also found expression in recruitment drives. One historian described the twelve months following August 1914 as ones of enlisting rather than recruiting (Haycock: 200). In July 1915 Prime Minister Sir Robert Borden announced an increase in the Canadian Expeditionary Force to 150,000, and two further increases by January 1916 raised the number to 500,000. But as the country's military commitment expanded, and as the government's reluctance to take direct responsibility for recruitment continued, citizen associations became actively involved in the campaign to persuade young men to serve overseas. The Speakers' Patriotic League and other recruiting organizations were formed, employing a variety of methods to entice young men to join up including holding large rallies featuring speeches from political leaders, civic dignitaries, and returned soldiers from the front, and military and patriotic music to create an appropriate atmosphere. Patriotism expressed itself in other ways as well, through poems and songs for example. Many of these were of little literary or musical merit, but nevertheless written with honest sentiments strongly felt, espousing concepts of king, empire, and country.

The country entered the war unprepared militarily and economically, and as the conflict dragged on beyond all expectations, a reassessment of government policy became critical. Reliance on the patriotism and the voluntary spirit of the civilian population, and a corresponding failure to intervene strategically in the economic and industrial activities of the nation in the first two years of the war, of necessity gave way to centrally controlled policies. The War Measures Act had, of course, been passed in the first month of the war; it provided the government with a powerful tool that allowed the curtailing of traditional rights including *habeas corpus*. The effects of this had already been relatively widespread. The first victims were those designated enemy aliens. Of the approximately 120,000 enemy aliens in Canada, the vast majority of the 8,579 who were interned during the war were un-naturalized resident immigrants from the Ukrainian ethnographic territories within the Austro-Hungarian empire (Kordan: 36). Further restrictions followed, including the censorship of printed matter, photographs and other materials, this being made possible by the creation of the Chief Press Censor's office in 1915. Over the course of the war 253 publications were banned, most originating in the United States, and two-thirds written in languages other than English (Keshen: 81). Censorship of newspapers and magazines ensured that the 'official' view of the war was presented to the public. By 1916 growing labour shortages and the failure of the recruitment system forced the government to introduce measures both to mobilize national strength fully and to set out regulatory controls over the economy. Fuel and food shortages necessitated the creation of agencies responsible for overseeing pricing, distribution, and consumption, and the conducting of sophisticated campaigns employing the use of pamphlets, posters, and newsletters to exhort the public to conserve. Notable also is the implementation, for the first time in the nation's history, of a modest income tax as a means to assist in the financing of the war.

On 6 December 1916, Borden, in a speech delivered before a Montreal audience, acknowledged the country's 'mighty' efforts made to that point in fielding an army of more than one hundred thousand men in the fighting line. He went on to underline the fundamental nature of modern warfare, noting that the conflict was a war of nations rather than armies and that victory depended upon the thorough organization of national strength. 'All the human energy and all the material forces at our command must be thrown into the scale. As men without discipline, training and equipment cannot constitute an effective army, so a nation in the face of such conditions as now confront us cannot exercise its full strength unless its power as expressed in terms of human energy is estimated and fully organized' (Borden, *'Canada at War'*: 5). This speech came some two months after the establishment of a National Service Board, created in response to a sharp decline in recruitment and a growing realization that greater government intervention in the mobilization of the country's resources, both human and material, was essential to the successful prosecution of the war. The national registration scheme which followed was a process of identifying, or to use Borden's expression 'estimating,' the number of men fit for military service or whose occupations in essential war-related industries exempted them from such duty. The failure of this last effort of volunteerism led inexorably to compulsory military service in 1917 and the fracturing of English and French-Canadian relations (Brown and Cook: 219).

63 Form letter from Sir William Mulock (1844-1944), President, Toronto and York County Patriotic Fund, dated 24 August 1914.

64 Printed receipt dated 18 November 1915, from the Toronto and York County Patriotic Fund Association, with pledge card.

A private soldier serving with the Canadian Expeditionary Force could expect to receive pay of $1.00 a day plus an additional ten cents field allowance. For those soldiers who had wives and dependents, this wage and the meagre separation allowance the government granted was insufficient to cover their families' living expenses. Recognizing that the country had a moral obligation to provide for the families of soldiers and understanding that failure to do so could hamper enlistment efforts, Herbert Ames (1863-1954), a Montreal businessman, approached the federal government with the idea of establishing a national fund to assist the soldiers' families. Government involvement would be minimal; all the money would be raised through private donations. From these discussions an act incorporating the Canadian Patriotic Fund came into effect on 28 August 1914. Prior to the Fund's creation, prominent citizens of Toronto, likewise aware of the pressing need to augment the financial resources of soldiers' families, met on 14 August, and from the ensuing discussions created the Toronto and York County Patriotic Fund, with Sir William Mulock, a former Laurier cabinet minister, elected president. The resulting Toronto campaign

to raise $500,000 in four days, launched at a large rally held at Massey Hall, was a complete success with almost double that amount donated. The form letter from Sir William Mulock was one method by which donations were solicited from Torontonians. In this and future campaigns, pledge cards were made available and payments to the Fund could be arranged by instalments.

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65 Royal Canadian Academy of Arts. *Catalogue of Pictures and Sculpture given by Canadian Artists in Aid of the Patriotic Fund... Toronto, December the Thirtieth, Nineteen-Fourteen.* [Toronto: Royal Canadian Academy], 1914.

The Royal Canadian Academy, the Ontario Society of Artists, and the Canadian Art Club organized an exhibition at the end of 1914 representing the work of eighty-two artists including J.W. Morrice (1865-1924), A.Y. Jackson, and Clarence Gagnon (1881-1942). Money from the sale of the paintings and catalogues as well as the entrance fees, totalling more than $10,000, was contributed to the Patriotic Fund (Tippett: 9). After the Toronto showing, the exhibition travelled to seven other Canadian cities – Winnipeg, Halifax, Saint John, Quebec City, Montreal, Ottawa, and Hamilton. The poster advertising the 1914 exhibition, entitled *Canada and the Call* and designed by J.E.H. MacDonald (1873-1932), is reproduced on the first leaf of the catalogue. The Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library's copy of the original poster is on display in the current exhibition.

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66 *A Message to the Canadian Soldier's Wife.* Ottawa: Canadian Patriotic Fund, [1915].

Written by the Executive Committee of the national Canadian Patriotic Fund, this eight-page pamphlet was directed to the wives and dependents of soldiers. Outlining the principles behind the establishment and operation of the Fund, the message emphasized the need for good stewardship of the money entrusted to the women by the contributors to the Fund. In rather patronizing tones, an appeal was made to uphold the reputation of the Fund by using the money given to them wisely. 'Now, one careless woman can injure the reputation of you all by her thoughtlessness and extravagance. Remember, therefore, when you are tempted to make extravagant use of your money, that, although the money is your own, it can be so spent as to injure the cause and all those connected with the Fund.'

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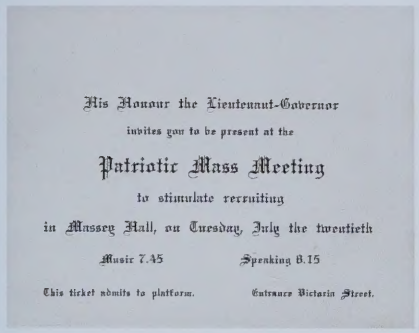
67 Admission ticket to platform of a patriotic meeting to stimulate recruiting held at Massey Hall, Tuesday, 20 July 1915.

The spirit of volunteerism characterized by the enlistment of thousands of young men through the early months of the war began to diminish as the nature of the conflict and the need for more and more men became apparent. Men were no longer coming forward in sufficient numbers to meet


His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor
invites you to be present at the
Patriotic Mass Meeting
to stimulate recruiting
in Massey Hall, on Tuesday, July the twentieth
Music 7.45 Speaking 8.15
This ticket admits to platform. Entrance Victoria Street.

new government targets. By the middle of 1915 civilian organizations began to take a prominent role in promoting recruitment by encouraging young men to join up and by coordinating their activities with those of the military authorities. One such group, the Speakers' Patriotic League, was created in April 1915 to educate the public to the need for men to serve overseas, and to assist local recruiting organizations by offering speakers and logistical support (Wilson: 9-10). On Sunday, 18 July 1915, a notice was read from the pulpits of Toronto churches announcing a meeting to be held the following Tuesday at Massey Hall for the purpose of organizing a Toronto Recruiting League. The meeting, called at the request of Major-General W.A. Logie (1866-1933), the officer commanding Military District No. 2, was an immense success. Massey Hall was filled to capacity with an enthusiastic crowd of men and women of all ages, and two thousand more filled the adjoining streets. The audience was entertained by the bands of the Queen's Own Rifles and the Royal Grenadiers, and the singing of the national anthem, 'Rule Britannia', 'Hearts of Oak', and other patriotic songs. Speaker and after speaker, beginning with the Ontario Lieutenant-Governor, Sir John Hendrie (1857-1923), addressed the audience, speaking passionately about the rightness of the Allied cause and the need for young men to do their patriotic duty. Several returning soldiers also spoke, including Private Coburn of the 15th Battalion who had been wounded at St. Julien: 'I ask the young men who have not already enlisted to do it now. Now is the time your King and country need you. It is your duty and privilege to meet the need. And I ask the ladies to urge the men to enlist. We want the men to show that Canada is on the side of right and that Canadians have no yellow streak in them' (*The Globe*, July 21, 1915: 6). Hendrie's announcement before the meeting adjourned that ninety-two recruits had stepped forward was greeted with a tremendous ovation.

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68 Canada. Department of the Secretary of State. *Memorandum: this pamphlet is of a strictly confidential character and intended for the personal information of the newspaper men of Canada who are responsible for what appears in their respective publications.* [Ottawa: Chief Press Censor of Canada, 1915].

The passage of the War Measures Act in August 1914 gave the government sweeping powers including the 'censorship and the control and suppression of publications, writings, maps, plans, photographs, communications and means of communication'. Further Orders in Council increased the authority of the government to identify and restrict the

distribution of materials deemed to be of a nature prejudicial to the interests of Great Britain and her allies in the prosecution of the war. It was the passage of Order in Council P.C. 1330, on 15 June 1915, however, establishing the office of the Chief Press Censor in the Department of the Secretary of State, that made effective censorship of the press possible. Ernest J. Chambers (1862-1925), a journalist and editor of the *Canadian Parliamentary Guide*, was named to the position. A month after his appointment, he issued a memorandum for use by newspaper editors and publishers outlining the rules and regulations for press censorship, in effect, a guide to the classes of news that should be suppressed. For example, 'news calculated to cause internal disaffection or to interfere with recruiting and military discipline' was not to be published nor was the vaguely worded 'news likely to cause alarm or distress'. As an aid to the newspapermen's better understanding of the issues, the relevant legislation relating to censorship was printed as a series of appendices to the memorandum.

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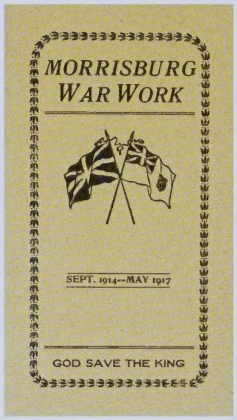
69 *Morrisburg War Work, Sept. 1914 – May 1917.* [Morrisburg, Ont.?: s.n., 1917?].

During the war the Women's Institute branches across the country spent much of their time and energy on patriotic activities in support of the troops overseas. In Ontario, where the Institute branches numbered over eight hundred and eighty with a membership of nearly thirty thousand in 1914, the collection of funds and production of goods for the soldiers such as knitting of socks and other clothing apparel



were a primary focus of their work. Through special fundraising events like afternoon teas, sales of homemade cooking, concerts, and other entertainments, money was collected and used to purchase supplies of wool for garment-making operations and for other necessities like a Red Cross motor ambulance and military field kitchens. Other monies raised went to various charities like the Belgian Relief Fund and the Prisoners of War Fund. As the war continued and food shortages occurred in Allied countries, the Institutes responded to appeals from the government for food conservation and substitution by teaching homemakers about nutrition and offering courses on gardening and canning (Ambrose: 76). The war work of the Morrisburg Women's Institute was representative of the efforts made by the many Institute branches across the province. Knitting and sewing garments, making pillowcases, bandages, towels, and other essentials was typical of the work carried out by W.I. members. For the year ending September 1916, the women made over thirteen thousand

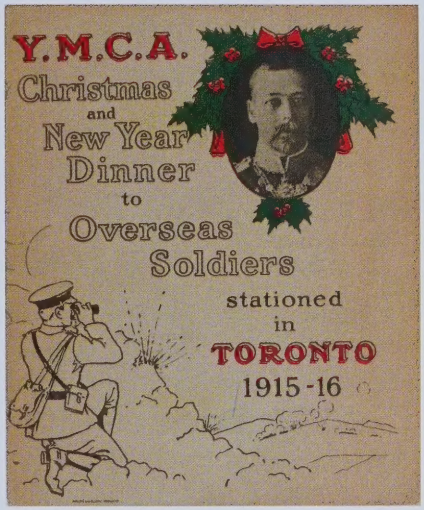
items to be sent overseas. On a slightly more martial note, in support of the locally recruited 154th Battalion, $2,000 was pledged to purchase two machine-guns.

70 *The Women's Patriotic League Cookery Book*. Brockville, Ont.: [The League], 1918.

As soon as the war broke out women began to organize themselves to provide assistance to soldiers' families, to send relief supplies to Belgium, and to raise money for other charitable endeavours. On 18 August 1914, a meeting held at Toronto City Hall led to the creation of a Women's Patriotic League. Other patriotic leagues were soon established across Ontario, and working closely with the Women's Institutes and the Canadian Red Cross Society began making 'comforts' for the soldiers overseas. In 1918 the Women's Patriotic League of Brockville published a cookbook with a two-fold purpose: to raise money through the sale of the book for the benefit of the Canadian Red Cross, and to offer helpful tips on preparing meals incorporating food conservation and substitution. One small section titled 'War Recipes', included suggestions for making bread without white flour, and a confection called Canadian war cake:

1 cup of brown sugar
1 cup water
1½ cups seeded raisins
2 tablespoonfuls lard
1 teaspoonful cinnamon
½ teaspoonful cloves
½ teaspoonful salt

Boil together for 5 minutes and cool. When cold stir in 1 teaspoonful soda dissolved in a little warm water. Add 2 cups flour sifted with ½ teaspoonful baking powder. (General instructions for baking cakes and breads appear at the front of the book).



71 *Y.M.C.A. Christmas and New Year Dinner to Overseas Soldiers Stationed in Toronto 1915* – Menu.

The Y.M.C.A. did splendid work in alleviating some of the less pleasant aspects of military life for the Canadian soldiers stationed at home or serving overseas. Representatives from the organization were among the first to arrive at the still-unfinished military camp at Valcartier in August 1914, and six members, commissioned as honorary captains, accompanied the First Contingent when it sailed to England. The assembling and training of subsequent formations of the C.E.F. were made the responsibility of the military districts from which the troops were raised, and permanent buildings in the cities and towns requisitioned for use

as housing. In Toronto that first winter of the war, the buildings of the Canadian National Exhibition accommodated approximately 4,500 soldiers. The Y.M.C.A. secured the use of the Arts Building, establishing a dry canteen and organizing a range of services, from the provision of letter paper and envelopes to the arranging of sporting events using equipment purchased by the Y.M.C.A. Special entertainments featuring local talent as well as concerts and religious meetings were held almost every evening. During the Christmas season a special effort was made to celebrate the holidays for the men who were absent from their homes, many for the first time. Traditional Christmas and New Year's dinners were prepared with the assistance of volunteers from the city who donated the supplies and their time to ensure that the men enjoyed a memorable occasion. These dinners were repeated each Christmas until the end of the war.

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72 Mourning card of Sir John and Lady Gibson, September 1915.

A Hamilton lawyer, businessman and Liberal politician, Sir John Morison Gibson (1842-1929) served as the Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario from 1908 until 1914. Following the end of his term, which coincided with the beginning of the war, he became very involved in war work, acting as president of the Soldiers' Aid Committee and vice-president of the Speakers' Patriotic League among other activities. Gibson's son, Lieutenant Francis Malloch Gibson, of the 15th Canadian Battalion, was killed in action near Armentières on 19 August 1915. Mourning cards frequently included a message of thanks for expressions of sympathy received on the death of a son. This card differs in that it is a simple announcement of Francis Gibson's death.

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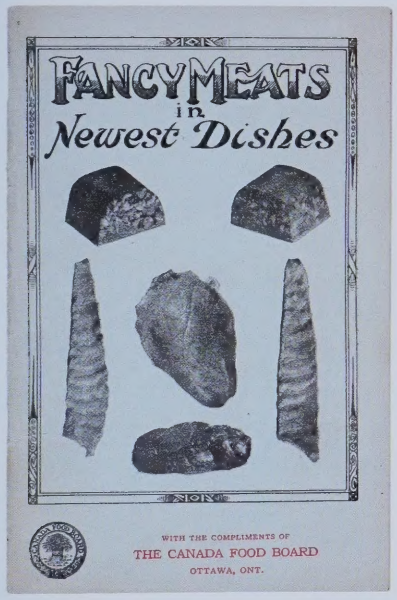
73 *Fancy Meats in Newest Dishes*. Ottawa: Food Board, [1918?].

In response to food shortages in Allied countries, specifically France and Italy, the federal government established in June 1917 by Order in Council the office of Food Controller for Canada, later renamed the Canada Food Board. The first Food Controller, W.J. Hanna (1862-1919), was guided by the need 'to conserve food and to devise means by which greater quantities could be released from domestic consumption for consumption overseas'. A campaign was launched to increase food production by reducing waste, encouraging conservation, and recommending substitution; that is, using as food various products formerly overlooked or discarded, so that staples (meat and wheat) could be supplied to our allies. Within the Food Controller's office was the Education and Publicity Department organized to carry on an educational campaign for food control through the publication of articles, pamphlets, and posters. *Fancy Meats in Newest Dishes* was one of a series of pamphlets issued promoting food conservation and food substitution by offering helpful advice and recipes for preparing meals using meat by-products like liver, kidney, and heart. Other titles in



the series included *Eat More Fish*, *Canning for Victory*, *Poultry rather than Beef*, and *War Meals: Practical Suggestions to Save Bacon, Wheat and Flour to Meet War Needs Overseas*.

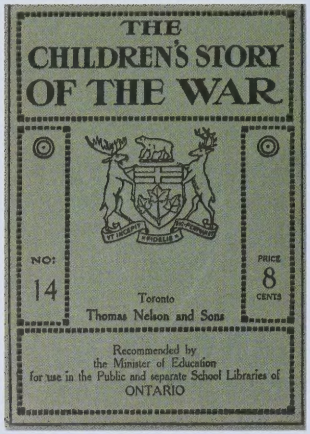
74 Food Service Pledge – printed pledge card, 1917.

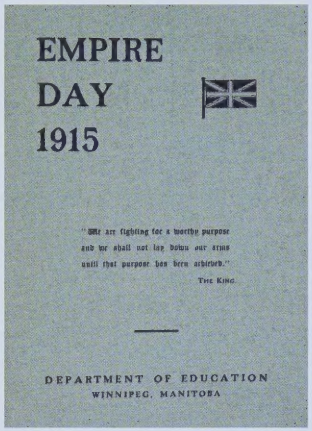
In its ongoing efforts to promote food conservation and eliminate wasteful practices, the office of the Food Controller distributed over one million pledge and window cards to householders enlisting their voluntary cooperation in conserving food. This very public declaration of support for the thrift campaign of the Food Controller was one way families could be seen to be doing their 'bit' for the war effort. Printed on one side of the card was the pledge: 'Realizing the gravity of the food situation and knowing that Great Britain and our Allies look to Canada to help shatter Germany's threat of starvation, I pledge myself and my household to carry out conscientiously the advice and directions of the Food Controller that requisite foodstuffs may be released for export to the Canadian Divisions, the British forces and people of the Allied armies and nations.' The card was to be signed by the householder and hung in the dining room with cord or ribbon through the pre-cut holes as a reminder to conserve food. The food pledge card on display has a printed label affixed to the upper left corner referring to one of the sections of the proposed federal wartime act 'prohibiting the use of grain in the manufacture of intoxicating liquors'. The linking of food conservation with the temperance movement in Canada was a successful tactic in the passage of legislation in all the provinces, with the exception of Quebec, banning the production and sale of alcoholic beverages.

75 Sir Edward James Parrott. *The Children's Story of the War*. Toronto: Thomas Nelson and Sons, [n.d.].

76 *Empire Day 1915*. Winnipeg: Department of Education, [1915].

Children were not exempt from appeals to do their patriotic duty, and school systems across the country played their part in presenting the official version of the war to their students.





This was made explicitly clear in *The Children's Story of the War*, a British publication distributed in Canada and recommended for use in Ontario public and separate schools by the Department of Education. The magazine gave accounts of the Allies' heroic struggle against German military might. In advertising their publication, the publishers stated that 'amongst children as amongst adults, there is only one topic which impels national attention – the War – and it is of paramount importance to seize upon this absorbing interest to make it subserve patriotic and educational ends'. Issued first in parts and then as a ten-volume bound set, the magazine appealed directly to its young readers for financial support for the war effort. The money raised went toward the purchase of a motor ambulance in which to carry wounded Belgian soldiers, and to the Serbian Boy's Fund, an appeal to adopt ten Serbian children displaced by the war. Phrases such as 'Have you done your little bit yet?', 'You are serving your country', and 'No sum is too small to send' were employed to encourage the children to give to these worthy causes. As an added incentive to contribute, the donors' names with the amounts given appeared on the inside back covers of the paper issues.

The Manitoba Department of Education publication, *Empire Day 1915*, offered teachers guidance in explaining the war to their pupils. A set of questions and answers was prepared for use in the classroom, and extracts from speeches made by British politicians suitable for memorization by the students are also set out in the pamphlet. Printed on the front cover is the following: 'We are fighting for a worthy purpose and we shall not lay down our arms until that purpose has been achieved. The King.'

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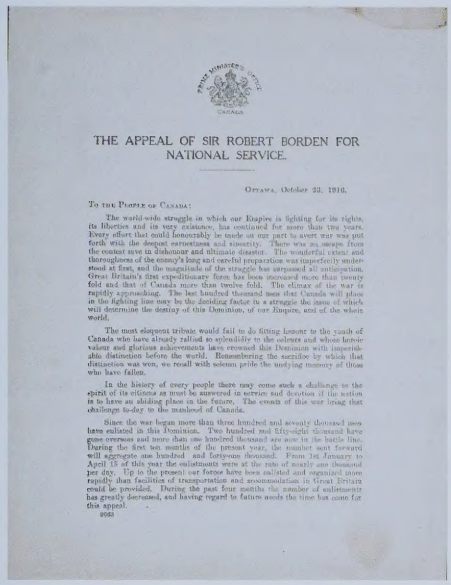
77 Sir Robert Laird Borden. *The Appeal of Sir Robert Borden for National Service*. [Ottawa?: s.n., 1916?].

By mid-1916 the steps taken by the government to increase recruitment numbers were failing and a more effective approach was needed. Although over 270,000 men were serving overseas, the enlistment rate had dropped dangerously below acceptable levels. In September 1916, a National Service Board under the chairmanship of the Conservative Member of Parliament, R.B. Bennett (1870-1947), was established 'to identify and keep within Canada those who could give better service at home and identify and induce to service in the field those who could and ought so to serve' (Borden, *Memoirs*: 609). Borden followed this on 23 October with an appeal to the Canadian people for national



THE APPEAL OF SIR ROBERT BORDEN FOR NATIONAL SERVICE.

Ottawa, October 22, 1916.

To the People of Canada:

The world-wide struggle in which our Empire is fighting for its rights, its liberties and its very existence, has continued for more than two years. Every effort that could honourably be made on our part to avert war was put forth with the deepest earnestness and sincerity. There was no escape from the contest save in dishonour and ultimate disaster. The wonderful extent and thoroughness of the enemy's long and careful preparation was imperfectly understood at first, and the magnitude of the struggle has surpassed all anticipation. Great Britain's first expeditionary force has been increased more than twenty fold and that of Canada more than twelve fold. The climax of the war is rapidly approaching. The last hundred thousand men that Canada will place in the fighting line may be the deciding factor in a struggle the issue of which will determine the destiny of this Dominion, of our Empire, and of the whole world.

The most eloquent tribute would fail to do fitting honour to the youth of Canada who have already rallied so splendidly to the colours and whose heroic valour and glorious achievements have crowned this Dominion with imperishable distinction before the world. Remembering the sacrifice by which that distinction was won, we recall with solemn pride the undying memory of those who have fallen.

In the history of every people there may come such a challenge to the spirit of its citizens as must be answered in service and devotion if the nation is to have an abiding place in the future. The events of this war bring that challenge to-day to the manhood of Canada.

Since the war began more than three hundred and seventy thousand men have enlisted in this Dominion. Two hundred and fifty-eight thousand have gone overseas and more than one hundred thousand are now in the battle line. During the first ten months of the present year, the number sent forward will aggregate one hundred and forty-one thousand. From 1st January to April 15 of this year the enlistments were at the rate of nearly one thousand per day. Up to the present our forces have been enlisted and organized more rapidly than facilities of transportation and accommodation in Great Britain could be provided. During the past four months the number of enlistments has greatly decreased, and having regard to future needs the time has come for this appeal.

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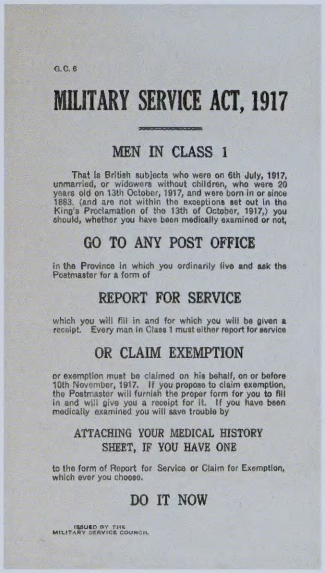

G.C. 6

MILITARY SERVICE ACT, 1917

MEN IN CLASS 1

That is British subjects who were on 6th July, 1917, unmarried, or widowers without children, who were 20 years old on 13th October, 1917, and were born in or since 1883, (and are not within the exceptions set out in the King's Proclamation of the 13th of October, 1917,) you should, whether you have been medically examined or not,

GO TO ANY POST OFFICE

in the Province in which you ordinarily live and ask the Postmaster for a form of

REPORT FOR SERVICE

which you will fill in and for which you will be given a receipt. Every man in Class 1 must either report for service

OR CLAIM EXEMPTION

or exemption must be claimed on his behalf, on or before 10th November, 1917. If you propose to claim exemption, the Postmaster will furnish the proper form for you to fill in and will give you a receipt for it. If you have been medically examined you will save trouble by

ATTACHING YOUR MEDICAL HISTORY SHEET, IF YOU HAVE ONE

to the form of Report for Service or Claim for Exemption, which ever you choose.

DO IT NOW

ISSUED BY THE MILITARY SERVICE COUNCIL

service: 'In the history of every people there may come such a challenge to the spirit of its citizens as must be answered in service and devotion if the nation is to have an abiding place in the future.' He further acknowledged that the magnitude of the war had surpassed all expectations and that a greater effort was needed by all citizens to secure victory. 'It is imperative that the men and women of Canada, individually and through their various organizations, shall serve the nation in those capacities in which their services may be of the most value. Thus, it is the urgent duty of the Canadian people to join with the government in organizing the full power of the nation in terms of human energy' (Borden, *The Appeal...*: 2).

78 *Military Service Act, 1917.* [S.l.: Military Service Council, 1917] – Broadside.

79 Canada. Military Service Act, 1917. *Notice of Disposition of Claim for Exemption.*

The failure of the national registration scheme to raise the required number of men to maintain the strength of the Canadian Corps forced the Prime Minister to reconsider his decision not to impose conscription. Borden's visit to England and the Western Front in early 1917 convinced him compulsory military service was the only solution to the

manpower shortage. On his return to Canada in mid-May, he announced the government's intention to introduce a conscription bill. The resulting Military Service Act, drafted by Arthur Meighen (1874-1960), the Solicitor-General, and passed into law on 29 August 1917, set a target figure of one hundred thousand men. The act declared all men between the ages of twenty and forty-five liable for service and grouped them into six classes. In the proclamation of 13 October 1917, Class 1 men – those between the ages of twenty and thirty-four, unmarried or childless widowers – were called to register for military service by 10 November. Under section 11 of the act, appeals for exemption from serving could be made to local tribunals established to adjudicate such cases. Among the grounds for granting an exemption were that the person be engaged in work that was in the national interest; ill health or infirmity; and religious beliefs prohibiting a combatant role. By the end of the year, of the 404,395 men that reported for service, 380,510 had sought exemption; only 47,868 exemptions were disallowed (Granatstein and Hitsman: 85-86).

80 *War Scandals of the Borden Government: as Told in the House of Commons and Sworn to Before the Public Accounts and Other Committees*. Ottawa: Central Liberal Information Office, [1917].

As part of the Liberal Party's strategy to discredit the Conservative government, a series of pamphlets was published highly critical of the government's performance in directing the country's war effort. In the strongest language possible, the Conservatives were accused of a 'riot of extravagance, graft, profiteering and political maggotry such as Canada had never seen, and let us hope will never see again...' Citing example after example from the official records of the House of Commons and other bodies as a means of condemning the government, a litany of scandals and instances of mismanagement and incompetence over the course of the war was presented. Horses purchased for the contingents were not only exorbitantly priced, but were found to be unsuitable in many cases; soldiers' boots often proved to be defective, because the leather was poor and in some cases cardboard was substituted for leather so that the footwear fell apart. Perhaps the best known scandal involved the supply of the Ross rifle to the Canadian Expeditionary Force as the standard infantry weapon. An excellent target rifle, under battlefield conditions it had a tendency to become easily clogged with mud and was prone to overheating which caused jamming. Many soldiers' lives were lost as a result, and the weapon was finally withdrawn in 1916.

81 *Two Letters Proving that Sir Wilfrid Laurier Would Not Encourage even Voluntary Recruiting*. Ottawa: Union Government Publicity Bureau, [1917?].

Following the Prime Minister's announcement on 18 May 1917 in the House of Commons that conscription would be introduced, Borden approached Wilfrid Laurier, the

Liberal opposition leader, with a proposal to form a coalition government in order to implement the legislation. Laurier rejected the offer, aware that conscription was unacceptable in Quebec and that support for Henri Bourassa (1868-1952), the Quebec nationalist and editor of the influential newspaper *Le Devoir*, would increase throughout the province. The resulting passage of the Military Service Act divided the Liberal Party with the majority of English-speaking Liberals supporting the government while the Francophone members voted against the legislation. Throughout the summer Borden continued to work towards a coalition government, and the passage of two further acts, the Military Voters' Act and the War-time Elections Act convinced enough Liberals to accept his offer (Bothwell, Drummond, and English: 129). On 12 October the Union Government cabinet was announced. It was composed of twelve Conservatives, nine Liberals, one independent, and one labour member. In the campaign that followed the announcement of a December federal election, the Union Government issued literature casting doubt on Laurier's loyalty and willingness to prosecute the war vigorously. *Two Letters Proving that Sir Wilfrid Laurier Would Not Encourage even Voluntary Recruiting* reproduces correspondence between G.E. Main, chairman of the Recruiting Committee of the Canadian Club of Hamilton, and Laurier, requesting from the latter an endorsement of that organization's recruiting activities. Laurier's non-committal response is compared unfavourably to those of the Prime Minister and of N.W. Rowell (1867-1941), the Ontario Liberal leader and future member of the Unionist government, both of whom enthusiastically endorsed the efforts of the Recruiting Committee.

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82 Irene Humble. *We're from Canada: Canadian March Song*. Winnipeg; Toronto: Whaley, Royce & Co., 1915.

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83 Herbert Kohler and Jules Brazil. *There's a Fight Going On, Are You in It?* Toronto: Anglo-Canadian Music Publishers' Association, 1915.

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84 Muriel B. Bruce and Baron Aliotti. *Knitting: Song*. New York; Toronto: Chappell & Co., 1915.

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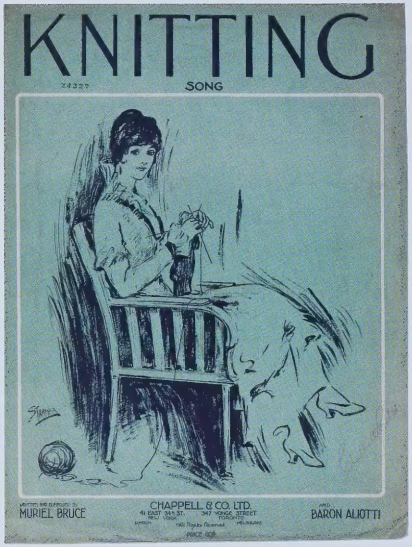
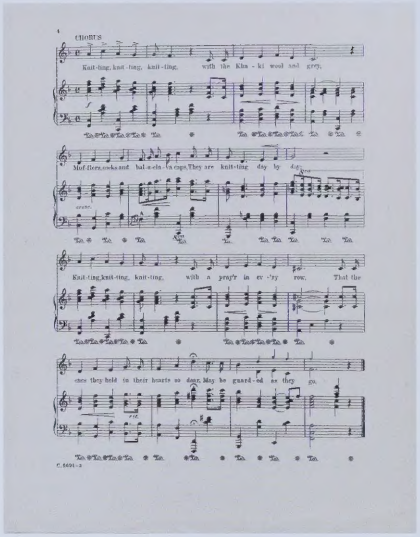
85 Gordon V. Thompson (1888-1965). *For the Glory of the Grand Old Flag*. Toronto: Thompson Publishing Company, 1918.

In sharp contrast to many of the songs popular among the soldiers at the front which took a satirical or sardonic view of the war, music written for the home front reflected a romantic or idealized notion of war, a certain naïveté born of ignorance and of an unquestioning patriotism. These compositions can be compared to the poetry written by civilians, mirroring the style and sentiment of the musical numbers. The propagandizing aspect of the lyrics was the dominant element, the theme of a just war fought on behalf of king, empire, and country, often being represented by national symbols like the flag or the maple leaf, repeated over and over again. *We're from Canada: Canadian March*


KNITTING
SONG
MURIEL BRUCE
CHAPPELL & CO. LTD.
BARON ALIOTTI


CHORUS
Knit-ting, knit-ting, knit-ting, with the Kha - ki wool and grey,
Mof-fiers, socks and bal-a-cla-ta caps, They are knit-ting day by day.
Knit-ting, knit-ting, knit-ting, with a pray'r in ev-'ry row, That the
ones they hold in their hearts so dear, May be guard-ed as they go.

THERE'S A FIGHT GOING ON, ARE YOU IN IT?
WORDS AND MUSIC BY
HERBERT KOHLER
ARRANGED BY
JULES BRAZIL

FOR THE GLORY OF THE GRAND OLD FLAG
WORDS & MUSIC BY
GORDON V. THOMPSON
WRITER OF
"When You Wind Up The Watch On The Rhine" "When Your Boy Comes Back To You" "I Want To Kiss Paddy Good-Night"
The Story of the Song
Somewhere in France they were ordered to go Over the Top. The crash of explosives was such that the very earth shivered with the shock. Machine guns sputtered their deadly hail, jack-jabbots burst with the crash of doom. Death reaped its adequate hands everywhere.
They hesitated just a second then one brave hero pulled out a tattered flag of freedom and exclaimed "Come on Boys!" for the glory of the Grand Old Flag.
They went over the top and when, but this lad never came back. They buried him with his flag on his breast. On the wooden cross they wrote "For the Glory of the Grand Old Flag".
Somewhere a sweetheart is lonely tonight. Somewhere a Mother weeps, there up! Because November Twelve for the Glory of the Grand Old Flag!
THOMPSON PUBLISHING COMPANY
75 BAY STREET TORONTO CAN.
NEW YORK

Song by Irene Humble embodies this spirit of patriotism, its rousing chorus proclaiming proudly:

> We're from Canada, we're from Canada,
> A land beyond compare,
> Where the sun shines bright and the stars at night,
> Look down on our fields so fair,
> On to victory, on to victory,
> We will help fight the foe,
> And the Maple Leaf is our Emblem dear,
> As marching on we go.

Songs composed to encourage enlistment and boost morale were sung at recruiting meetings and patriotic concerts as well as by families gathered round the piano at home. The titles conveyed exactly what was expected of young men: *The Call We Must Obey*; *Get a Move On, Boys*; and, *Why Don't You Wear a Uniform?* Herbert Kohler's *There's a Fight Going On, Are You in It?* is one example of a song exhorting young men to do the right thing and join up. Women's efforts were recognized, their substantial contribution to the material well-being of the troops acknowledged in songs such as *Knitting*, the chorus of which reads:

> Knitting, knitting, knitting, with the khaki wool and grey,
> Mufflers, socks and balaclava caps, they are knitting day by day;
> Knitting, knitting, knitting, with a pray'r in ev'ry row;
> That the ones they hold in their hearts so dear,
> May be guarded as they go.

Gordon V. Thompson, a prolific composer of patriotic songs and proprietor of a music publishing company, wrote sentimental pieces with titles such as *I Want to Kiss Daddy Good-Night* and *When Jack Comes Back*. His *For the Glory of the Grand Old Flag* tells the story of a brave soldier who, on seeing his comrades hesitating before an attack, grabs a tattered flag and goes over the top. The men take heart and follow, but the brave soldier is subsequently killed. His friends bury him with the flag he had held aloft. Written on the wooden cross marking the grave are the words, 'For the Glory of the Grand Old Flag'. Nowhere in the lyrics is the flag actually identified, which may say something about Thompson's entrepreneurial skills. By 1918 the United States had been in the war for a year and presumably the American public craved patriotic songs.

The striking covers of the sheet music, many with dramatic images of heroic soldiers posed holding rifles or advancing to the attack, offer strong visual representations of the patriotic spirit on the home front.

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86 *First Aid to Patriotism*. Toronto: Ontario Equal Franchise Association, 1916 – Handbill.

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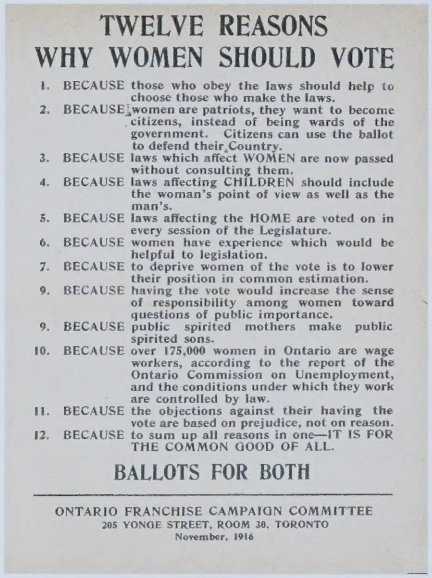
87 *Twelve Reasons Why Women Should Vote*. Toronto: Ontario Franchise Campaign Committee, 1916 – Handbill.

Women's organizations across the country campaigned tirelessly, but unsuccessfully, for the extension of the franchise in the years immediately preceding the outbreak of war in



TWELVE REASONS
WHY WOMEN SHOULD VOTE

1. BECAUSE those who obey the laws should help to choose those who make the laws.
2. BECAUSE women are patriots, they want to become citizens, instead of being wards of the government. Citizens can use the ballot to defend their Country.
3. BECAUSE laws which affect WOMEN are now passed without consulting them.
4. BECAUSE laws affecting CHILDREN should include the woman's point of view as well as the man's.
5. BECAUSE laws affecting the HOME are voted on in every session of the Legislature.
6. BECAUSE women have experience which would be helpful to legislation.
7. BECAUSE to deprive women of the vote is to lower their position in common estimation.
9. BECAUSE having the vote would increase the sense of responsibility among women toward questions of public importance.
9. BECAUSE public spirited mothers make public spirited sons.
10. BECAUSE over 175,000 women in Ontario are wage workers, according to the report of the Ontario Commission on Unemployment, and the conditions under which they work are controlled by law.
11. BECAUSE the objections against their having the vote are based on prejudice, not on reason.
12. BECAUSE to sum up all reasons in one—IT IS FOR THE COMMON GOOD OF ALL.

BALLOTS FOR BOTH

ONTARIO FRANCHISE CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE
205 YONGE STREET, ROOM 30, TORONTO
November, 1916

1914. In Ontario, bills proposing both provincial and municipal franchises and introduced in the Legislative Assembly on several occasions with the support of the Liberal opposition failed to pass. During the war years, groups such as the Ontario Equal Franchise Association with headquarters in Toronto continued to fight for the vote, often encountering not only the hostility of men but the disapprobation of other women's organizations like the Women's Patriotic League. John Castell Hopkins (1864-1923), the editor of *The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs*, wrote that women 'like Mrs. Nellie McClung [1873-1951] were labouring earnestly for a vote when their force and eloquence could have done much to aid recruiting' (*The Canadian Annual Review...*, volume for 1916: 427). This attitude was shared by officials of the Toronto branch of the Women's Patriotic League, who passed a resolution deprecating the fact that women's organizations were spending time, energy and money campaigning for the franchise when, in a time of national crisis, their united efforts were needed and would be put to much better use assisting in the war effort. Stoutly defending themselves against charges of being unpatriotic, the Ontario Equal Franchise Association and its Franchise Campaign Committee issued a series of handbills in November 1916, arguing persuasively for the extension of the franchise, at times equating the gaining of the vote with patriotism. *First Aid to Patriotism* unequivocally stated that 'women [sic] suffrage means patriotism'. *Twelve Reasons Why Women Should Vote* offers such compelling arguments as 'those who obey the laws should help to choose those who make the laws', and 'public spirited mothers make public spirited sons.'

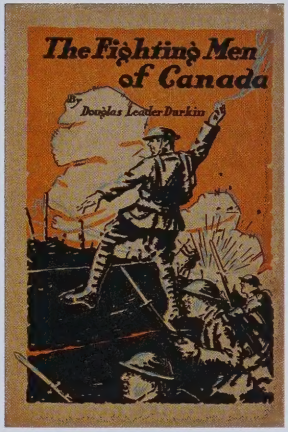
The franchise campaign was bolstered in January 1916 when the women of Manitoba became the first to gain the vote in provincial elections, followed shortly after by Saskatchewan and Alberta. Prior to the opening of the legislative session in February 1917, the Ontario Liberal Party officially endorsed women's suffrage. The Conservative Premier, Sir William Hearst (1864-1941), a long-time opponent of extending the franchise, was impressed by the war work of women, and for this reason believed they 'should be taken into partnership with men in the councils of the nation' (Cleverdon: 42). By April 1917 legislation introduced in the Ontario legislature was passed conferring both the provincial and municipal franchise on women.

88 Henry A. Ashmead. *Poems from the Press: Patriotic, Descriptive, Sentimental and Humorous*. Toronto: Hunter-Rose, 1916.

Many of the poems published in this volume first appeared in newspapers and magazines such as the *Montreal Standard*, *Saturday Night*, *Mail and Empire*, and the *Toronto Telegram*. The first section of the book, 'War Echoes', contains thirty-two poems that are typical of the jingoistic and sentimental style prevalent among many civilian writers of war verse. A romanticized view of war and death in battle is evident and the rightness of the cause and the perfidy of the Germans are emphasized. 'The Rank and File', a plea for enlistment, begins:

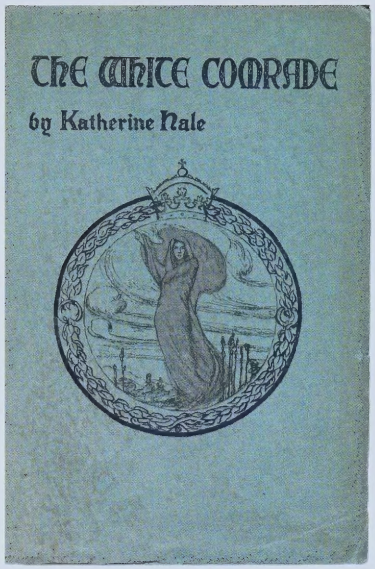
> What is the want, the present call
> That echoes far and wide,
> 'Tis men to fill the gaping ranks
> And stem the German tide.
> List not to those who stay at home
> And try to put on style,
> But be a man and do your best,
> Fill up the Rank and File.

89 Douglas Leader Durkin (1884-1968). *The Fighting Men of Canada*. Toronto: McClelland, Goodchild & Stewart, 1918.



Douglas Durkin was born in Parry Sound, Ontario in 1884, but moved to northern Manitoba when he was fourteen. Following graduation from the University of Manitoba, he taught at several schools in the west until 1917 when he returned to his alma mater as a lecturer in English and history. Durkin left Canada for New York in 1921 where he wrote *The Magpie*, a novel capturing the disillusionment and labour unrest in postwar Winnipeg. Most of the forty-three poems comprising *The Fighting Men of Canada* are war-related and present a strong sensibility and empathy with the men in the trenches. A few poems written in the voice of the soldiers are particularly effective.

90 Katherine Hale (1878-1956). *The White Comrade and Other Poems*. Toronto: McClelland, Goodchild & Stewart, 1916.



Themes of spiritual intervention were common in the literature of the war. Katherine Hale, the pen name of Mrs. John W. Garvin, was literary critic of the Toronto newspaper, *Mail and Empire*, and author of an earlier work of poetry, *Grey Knitting and Other Poems*, published in 1914. The title poem of *The White Comrade*, 425 lines of blank verse, is written in the voice of a Canadian soldier wounded at Ypres. He recounts the story of a French soldier who, while lying badly wounded on the battlefield, 'suddenly felt healing, cool and sweet, As you might feel a fan on a hot day'. He beheld a 'Comrade in khaki' tending to him. The pain began to subside and as it did the khaki melted away until the 'Comrade seemed all wrapt in white', the comrade in white being Jesus. Some time thereafter, the Canadian soldier was himself wounded and left lying alone in great pain and with a raging thirst. He, too, was tended by a khaki-clad figure, but when he looked up, the face he saw was that of a dear friend killed earlier at St. Julien. The wounded soldier assumed he had died, but his friend only laughed. Soon afterwards, a stretcher party spotted the wounded man, because, they said, of the strange glow that rested on the shrubs beneath which the soldier lay.

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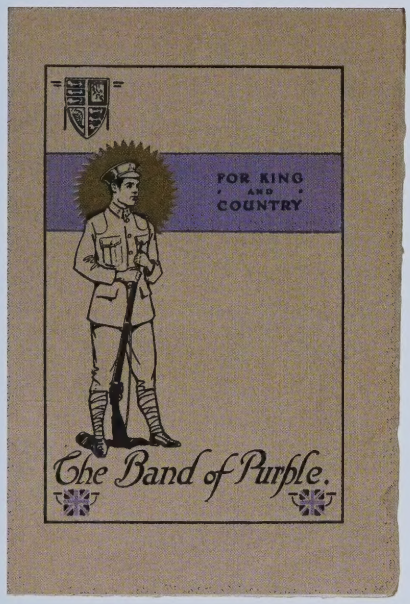
91 *The Voice of the Knight and His Lady, St. George and Waneita: Other Poems and Historic Truths.* [Brant County, Ont.]: Aryan Society, Women's Institutes, [1915-1918?].

Of the approximately four thousand aboriginal Canadians who fought on the battlefields of France and Flanders, almost three hundred came from the Six Nations community. Seventeen descendants of Joseph Brant (c. 1743-1807), the famous Mohawk chief, enlisted for overseas service including Lieutenant Cameron D. Brant (1887-1915), his great-great-grandson, who was killed while leading his platoon in a counterattack on 24 April 1915 during the Second Battle of Ypres. Cameron Brant was one of forty Brantford Six Nations natives to give their lives in the Great War. This pamphlet was written for the two Brant Battalions raised during the war, the 125th and 215th; proceeds from the sale of the pamphlet went to the Canadian Red Cross and for other patriotic purposes.



92 *The Band of Purple: a Collection of Canadian Poems.* Compiled by Lillie A. Brooks. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1915.

In a short preface to this anthology, the compiler appeals 'to all loyal sons of the Empire on behalf of the Canadian Red Cross Fund, which is deserving of our best support...The entire net proceeds will be given to the fund. It is For King and Country.' The poems of soldiers on active service, T.G. Roberts and Arthur Bourinot (1893-1969), are printed together with the work of Canon Frederick George Scott (1861-1944), senior chaplain with the First Canadian Division, and other well-known poets including Duncan Campbell Scott (1962-1947) and R. Stanley Weir (1856-1926). The 'band of purple' in the title refers to the arm bands worn by women as a sign of mourning. Following the heavy casualties suffered by the Canadians at the Second Battle of Ypres, the National Council of Women encouraged women to forego the wearing of traditional mourning dress and place instead a band of purple on the arm, signifying the loss of a loved one in uniform. Some feared that recruitment might suffer if large numbers of women were seen in black (Miller, p. 110).

CASE EIGHT

Service and Sacrifice

> Blow, golden trumpets, mournfully,
> For all the golden youth that's fled;
> For all the shattered dreams that lie,
> Where God has laid the quiet dead,
> Beneath an alien sky.

Over six hundred thousand men and women served with the Canadian Expeditionary Force during the Great War, an outstanding accomplishment for a country with a population in 1914 of slightly less than eight million. Considering the small size of the regular army and militia formations with which Canada entered the war, this achievement is that much more impressive. During the ensuing fifty-one months, on the horrific battlefields of the Western Front – Ypres, Festubert, Givenchy, St. Eloi, Courcelette, Vimy Ridge, Passchendaele, Cambrai - 59,544 Canadians would be killed and another 170,000 wounded.

Even as the war was being fought, tributes to those in uniform and to the men killed in action were being published as permanent testimonies to the soldiers' strength of character, selflessness, and courage. Especially poignant are the privately printed volumes commemorating lives lost, lovingly compiled by family members touched by tragedy – a father, mother, or brother – who with infinite care and in acts of parental or fraternal devotion gathered together letters and journal entries written at the front by their dead sons or brothers. Contributions were often solicited from those who knew the young men growing up – church ministers, school officials, and local civic leaders. The reprinting of letters from fellow officers and other ranks with whom the fallen soldiers had served in the trenches and who shared their memories was also a common feature of the tributes. These works took different forms depending on the inclination of the families. Some were slight, modest affairs, perhaps reflecting the limited financial resources available; others more elaborate, often containing dozens of pages of text with accompanying photographs, many of young men standing self-consciously, but proudly, in their uniforms. On occasion, family members conveyed their pride in their soldier sons or brothers through verse or by publishing a soldier's own poetry. Expressions of patriotism understandably appear in these memorial volumes with phrases like 'love of country', 'answering the Empire's great call for service', and 'doing his duty' frequently found, but little rancour towards the enemy is evident. One is left with a family's profound sense of personal loss and grief, tempered by an undoubted pride in the accomplishments of these young men who gave their lives for a noble cause in which they believed.

Expressions of public commemoration took many forms, from printed volumes assembled by businesses and other organizations paying eloquent tribute to their employees and staff who served their country, to the visual memorials – the paintings, sculpture, etchings – by the artists of the Canadian War Memorials Fund. In the two

decades following the Armistice of 1918, monuments were erected by public subscription in almost every city, town and village, 'communities of the bereaved' throughout the nation (Winter: 6). Government-sponsored memorials, particularly those built on behalf of the Canadian government such as the Peace Tower and the National War Memorial in Ottawa, were unmistakable, large-scale statements embracing the ritual of remembrance. Equally ambitious was the government's construction of eight memorials on the battlefields of France and Flanders in commemoration of the men of the C.E.F. Two, offering distinct architectural and artistic interpretations, stand out as exceptional national expressions of remembrance. The St. Julien Memorial honouring the more than eighteen thousand Canadians who participated in the Second Battle of Ypres in April 1915, the first major engagement of the untested First Canadian Division, is striking in its simplicity, yet overwhelmingly powerful. The figure of a helmeted soldier, head bowed and hands placed on the stock of a reversed rifle, the whole rising out a single column of stone, conveys the unspeakable sadness of a man mourning his lost comrades. The other, the Vimy Memorial, is by contrast a superb architectural achievement, impressive in its sheer size but somehow projecting an atmosphere of deep sorrow. Free from expressions of anger and triumph, these monuments do not seek to glorify war; like the published tributes, they stand as evocative reminders of the war's cost.

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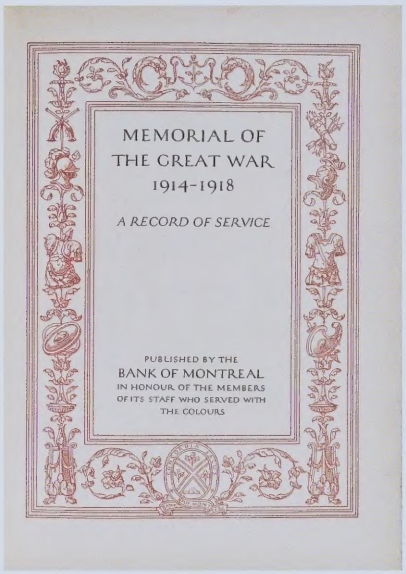
93 Anna Durie (1856-1933). *Our Absent Hero: Poems in Loving Memory of Captain William Arthur Peel Durie, 58th Battalion, C.E.F.* Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1920.

The author's son, to whom this volume is dedicated, was killed in action during an intense trench mortar bombardment on 29 December 1917 near Lens, France. As Mrs. Durie writes, 'No eulogy of his life would be complete that did not place emphasis on his fearlessness in action, his devotion to duty and his gallantry in the field.' The poems and sonnets reflect her sense of loss, but also a mother's pride in her son's sacrifice.

Good-bye Forever

I see you standing on the moving train,
Lifting your soft trench cap with your
free hand,
Saying good-bye forever, and I stand
To-day, and see you through a mist of pain,
Knowing that I shall henceforth look in vain
For smiles of yours: for while I waved the
sand
Of your young life was ebbing, and the land
Of the Great Dead, unseen, was looming plain.

No voice there was, nor deep-toned, mystic bell
To toll your passing; there was just a line
Of glistening rails; and you had said farewell
And vanished, smiling, from this life of mine:
An inspiration in my heart to dwell,
A chord of sweetest music, rarely fine.



94 *Memorial of the Great War 1914-1918: a Record of Service*. Montreal: Bank of Montreal, 1921.

Many companies and businesses paid tribute to employees who served in the military by publishing memorial volumes. The Bank of Commerce, for instance, produced a two-volume work to honour the more than seventeen hundred men of their staff who enlisted. The Bank of Montreal issued a single-volume tribute dedicated to the men 'who deliberately closed their ledgers, laid aside pen and pencil, left the calm routine of a great institution, the security of a well-ordered business life, and went forth with sublime courage, not only to endure the disheartening and glamour-dispelling weeks of preliminary training that was necessarily the portion of our noble volunteers, but to face the most relentless and ingeniously evil foe that ever menaced civilization'. Of the 1,409 employees who served in the military, 230 were killed or died on active service. The book is divided into five sections: 'The Dead,' which includes a photograph of each man together with a brief biographical sketch; 'Decorated and Mentioned in Despatches'; 'Prisoners'; 'Wounded'; and 'Other Enlistments'.

95 Charles Samuel Bannell (1883-1917). *His Offering: Poems*. Liverpool: J.A. Thompson, [1917?].

Charles Bannell immigrated to Canada from his native England at the age of sixteen, settling eventually on Vancouver Island where he worked as a cook and baker. His early attempts at enlisting were rejected on medical grounds, but after corrective surgery he was accepted for service with the 72nd (Seaforth Highlanders) Battalion. Private Bannell was killed in action on 30 October 1917 in the final stages of the Third Battle of Ypres, better known as Passchendaele.

Prepared for publication by the author's brother, the book is intended as a 'tangible Memorial of my dear brother, who sleeps in a hero's grave, unknown, perhaps, near the village of Passchendaele, Belgium'. Bannell's name appears on the Menin Gate Memorial for those soldiers fighting in the Ypres Salient whose bodies were never found. Many of the poems appearing in *His Offering* were first published in the *Port Alberni News*.

96 *In Memoriam Ralph Gordon Hall: Flight Lieutenant in the Royal Flying Corps*. Montreal: [s.n.], 1918.

During the First World War Canada did not have an air force. Canadians wishing to serve in the air branch of the armed forces joined the Royal Flying Corps, which in 1917 established training facilities in Toronto and the surrounding areas. Ralph Hall, after initial flight instruction in Toronto, proceeded to England where he continued his training. In January 1918, while practising manoeuvres over the Castle Bromwich Aviation Camp at Birmingham, Hall was killed when his aircraft collided with that of a fellow student pilot. He was not yet twenty years old. Hall's remains were brought back to Montreal and he was buried in Mount Royal Cemetery on 16 February 1918. Printed in this small volume is a six-page funeral tribute delivered by Hall's pastor at the memorial service held in the Erskine Presbyterian Church, Montreal. A poem, *In Memoriam*, by Hall's tutor, is also included. The dedication reads: 'This booklet is published in memory of one of the noblest of our Canadian lads, so many of whom, like him, have made the supreme sacrifice on the altar of our Empire and for the cause of Humanity, and who all, with their spirit of heroism and devotion to duty, have added deathless fame to the annals of our nations.'

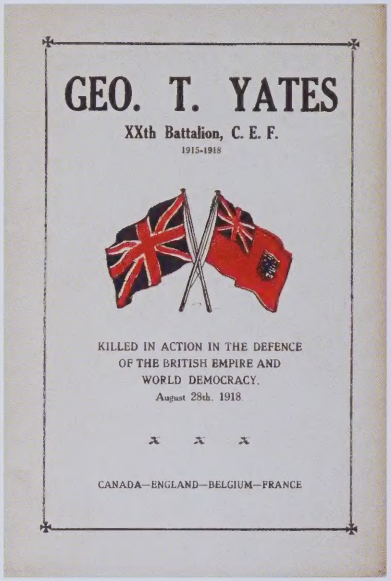
97 R.W. Maclennan (1893-1917). *The Ideals and Training of a Flying Officer: from the Letters and Journals of Flight Lieutenant R. W. Maclennan R.F.C., killed in France, 23rd December 1917*. [Toronto?: s.n.], 1918.

A graduate of Queen's University, Maclennan enlisted as a private (he thought it would take too long to get overseas if he waited to become an officer) in the Canadian Army Medical Corps and went to England in March 1916. Early the following year he decided to apply for a commission in the Royal Flying Corps. In his letters and journals, Maclennan gives a colourful account of what life was like training to be a pilot and provides excellent descriptions of the different types of aircraft flown through all stages of his instruction. In a letter to his father dated 15 July 1917, Hall described what it was like to land a First World War-era biplane.

> Landing is considered the most difficult thing for a beginner, but I do not find it hard and I enjoy it. It is done in this manner: - You pick a nice green field where the grass is fairly short. I usually land from 200 feet; at that height a field with short grass is easily distinguishable. The nose of the machine is pointed towards the earth, the engine is throttled down to a slow speed, and the machine begins to plane down. She comes pretty fast but you hardly realize this, and are only conscious of a steady throbbing noise as the air beats against the planes. There is no sensation of falling, merely gliding towards the ground. When twelve feet off the ground you slowly pull back your control lever (joy stick) and the machine flattens out and runs over the grass with little jarring or bouncing.

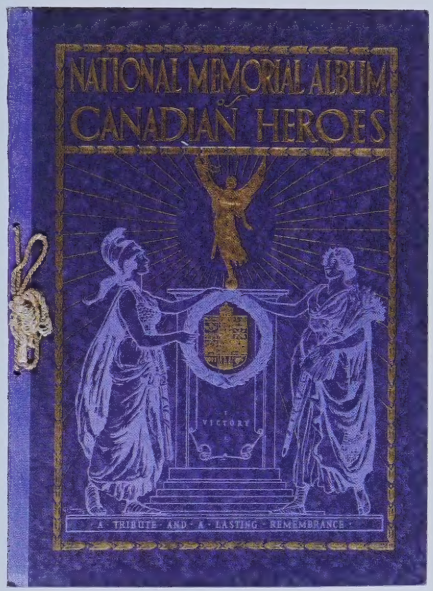
After completing training, Maclennan joined No. 60 Squadron, made famous by the exploits of Captain Albert Ball (1896-1917) and Major Billy Bishop. Less than a month after reaching France, he was dead, the victim of an engine failure while flying over his aerodrome. Maclennan is buried in the Communal Cemetery near Hazebrouck.

This book was prepared for private circulation by Maclennan's father, an eminent Toronto lawyer and Secretary of the Canadian Bar Association. The Fisher copy belonged to him and was specially bound with additional blank pages on which were pasted newspaper clippings, photographs, obituaries and other items of interest about his son.



98 *Geo. T. Yates, XXth Battalion, C.E.F., 1915-1918: Killed in Action in the Defence of the British Empire and World Democracy, August 28th, 1918.* [S.l.: s.n., 1918?].

This modest twelve-page pamphlet commemorates the life of George Timothy Yates, a private in the 20th Battalion, who was killed in action at the village of Vis-en-Artois in France. Born and raised in Toronto, Yates was working in his father's baggage transfer business when he enlisted in March 1915 at the age of seventeen. Twice wounded, he spent a year and a half convalescing from serious gunshot wounds to the shoulder before returning to the trenches in March 1918. This tribute contains six photographs and a two-page poem by Lucy Jackson entitled *A Token*.



99 *National Memorial Album of Canadian Heroes, Military District No. 2, Part 1.* Toronto: Progress Publishing Co., [1919?].

Military District No. 2, with its headquarters in Toronto, comprised a large area of central Ontario including the counties of York, Halton, Peel, Brant, Wentworth, and Grey. Sponsored by local companies and businesses, this is a photographic tribute to the men from the district who volunteered and to those who were killed in the war. The left hand pages show honour rolls of employees who served; on the right are displayed photographs of the soldiers. Among the firms represented are Holt Renfrew, Warwick Bros. & Rutter, Atwell Fleming Printing Co., and the Mendelssohn Piano Company. There is also a section devoted to employees from Hamilton businesses.

100 *Their Glory Cannot Fade.* [Montreal]: Canadian Pacific Railway, 1918.

A souvenir, issued by the Canadian Pacific Railway at Christmas 1918, as a tribute to the soldiers who went overseas. This pamphlet depicts the insignia and marks of rank worn by members of the Canadian Army as well as the distinguishing badges of the various arms of the service such as the Canadian Engineers, the Canadian Ordnance Corps, and the Royal Canadian Horse Artillery. The principal British decorations awarded to Canadians are also illustrated. The last page of the slight publication ends with a poem:

The Return

From the grim fields of Flanders they depart,
With deathless glory gaining their release;
Give them a welcome from the very heart –
The boys who bring us back this splendid Peace.

They won the Peace, let ours be the Goodwill;
Theirs is the glory, ours the grateful pride;
Let them come home to find that here they fill
The place of honour every Christmas tide.

101 Hubert Groves. *Toronto Does Her 'Bit'*. Toronto: Municipal Intelligence Bureau, 1918.

The city of Toronto contributed in many ways to the successful prosecution of the war. Groves' book is a record of that contribution from August 1914 to the beginning of March 1918. More than sixty-five thousand men from the Toronto area joined up before compulsory service was enacted, and thousands of volunteers were involved in the raising of funds and the sending of supplies to the men at the front. The work of the various relief agencies such as the Canadian Red Cross, the Toronto Women's Patriotic League, and the Canadian Patriotic Fund is described. The figures are staggering. The Toronto branch of the Red Cross shipped 4,491,627 articles overseas to military hospitals and prisoners of war including thousands of pairs of socks, bed linen, and other hospital supplies. The Canadian Patriotic Fund, in three campaigns, raised more than $6.5 million from Toronto residents, the 1918 campaign alone bringing in $3 million.

102 *Unveiling of the Canadian National War Memorial on Vimy Ridge by His Majesty the King, July 26th, 1936* – Order of Ceremony.

The Canadian National Vimy Memorial situated on the high ground above the Douai Plain, scene of the country's great victory in April 1917, is arguably the most impressive

monument to those who fought and died on the Western Front during the First World War. In 1922 France ceded to Canada in perpetuity one hundred hectares of land in gratitude for the sacrifices made by Canadians in securing the Allied victory. Following a competition held by the Canadian Battlefields Memorials Commission, the Canadian architect and sculptor Walter Allward (1876-1955) was chosen to design and build the memorial. Work began in 1925 and took eleven years to complete. Made of limestone quarried in Yugoslavia, the twin pylons representing Canada and France, and embellished with sculptured figures of the Spirit of Sacrifice, Peace, Justice, Honour, and Faith, soar twenty-seven metres above a massive base. In all, twenty sculptures, each twice life size, adorn the monument. The most poignant is that of the 'Weeping Woman': this figure of a woman standing alone, covered head bent forward and resting on her hand, is carved from a single thirty-ton block of stone. She represents Canada, a nation mourning the loss of her sons. The names of 11,285 Canadians who fell in France and have no known grave are carved on the monument's walls. The unveiling of the

National War Memorial by King Edward VIII (1894-1972), his only official ceremony before his abdication, took place on 26 July 1936 before a crowd of eight thousand Canadians, most of whom arrived as part of a 'Vimy Pilgrimage' organized and sponsored by the Canadian Legion of the British Empire Service League.

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103 Walter Brown. *To the Memory of Lieutenant-Colonel James Alexander Turner, D.S.O., M.C., a Gallant Soldier who Served his Country in the Great War 1914-1918 and Fell in the Battle of Buzancy on July Twenty-Six Nineteen-Eighteen. A Short History of his Life and Military Career*. New York: [Printed by the Publishers Print. Co., 1919].

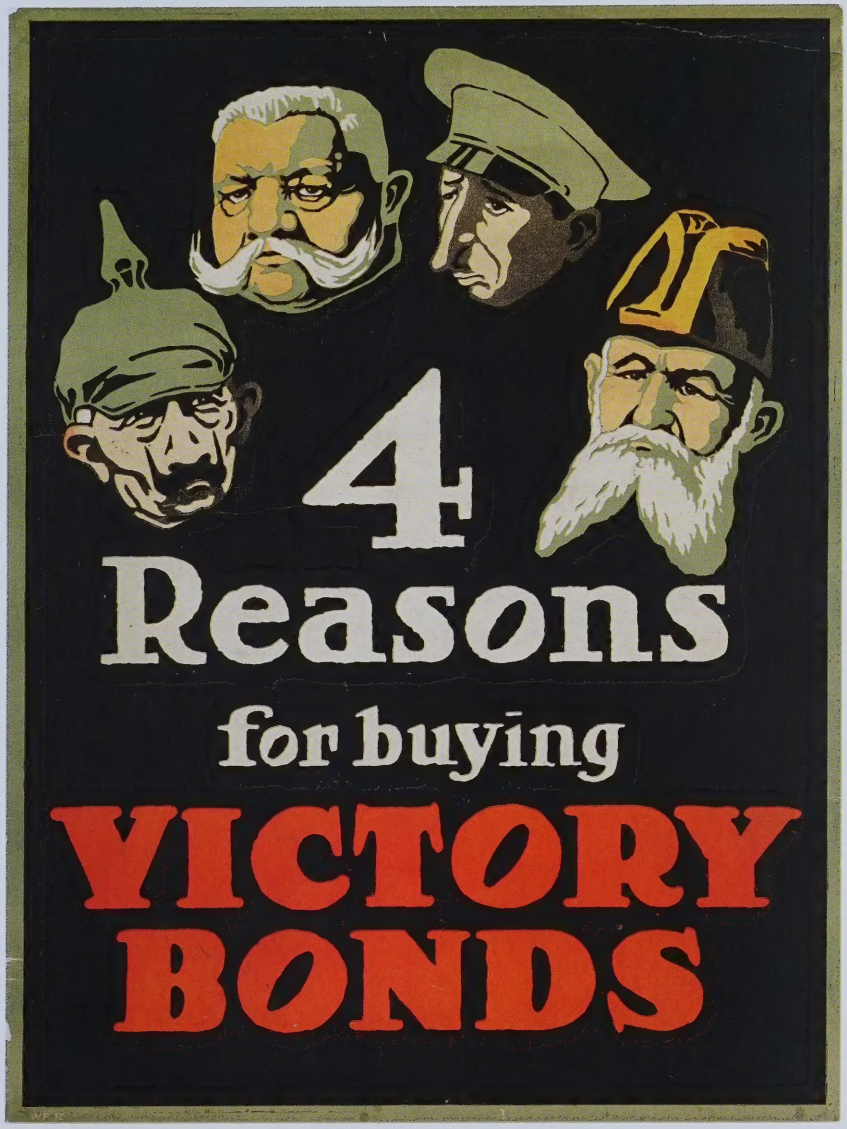
James Alexander Turner (1891-1918), a graduate of the Royal Military College at Kingston, was working for the Canadian government as an assistant engineer on hydrographic survey duties in British Columbia when war was declared. He immediately volunteered for overseas duty and was among the thousands of soldiers who trained at Valcartier and subsequently sailed to England as part of the First Contingent. Disappointed by the decision to break up his battalion to provide reinforcements for the First Canadian Division and eager to get to the front as quickly as possible, Turner accepted a commission in the British Imperial regiment, the 2nd Royal Scots. Wounded three times and twice decorated for bravery, he was promoted at the young age of twenty-six to the rank of lieutenant-colonel and appointed to the command of the 13th Battalion, The Royal Scots two months before his death near the French town of Soissons.

The lavish folio volume published as a memorial to Turner by Walter Brown, his uncle and guardian, contains tipped-in plates, tributes from his headmaster at Highfield and from members of his battalion, and reproductions of many of the letters he sent home from the front.

CANADA AND
THE CALL
1914
EXHIBITION of PICTURES
GIVEN BY CANADIAN ARTISTS
IN AID of the PATRIOTIC FUND
UNDER THE AUSPICES OF
THE ROYAL CANADIAN ACADEMY
DESIGNED BY J.E.H. MacDONALD, A.R.C.A.

Back Him Up!
Buy VICTORY BONDS

KEEP
ALL CANADIANS
BUSY
BUY 1918
VICTORY BONDS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for buying
VICTORY
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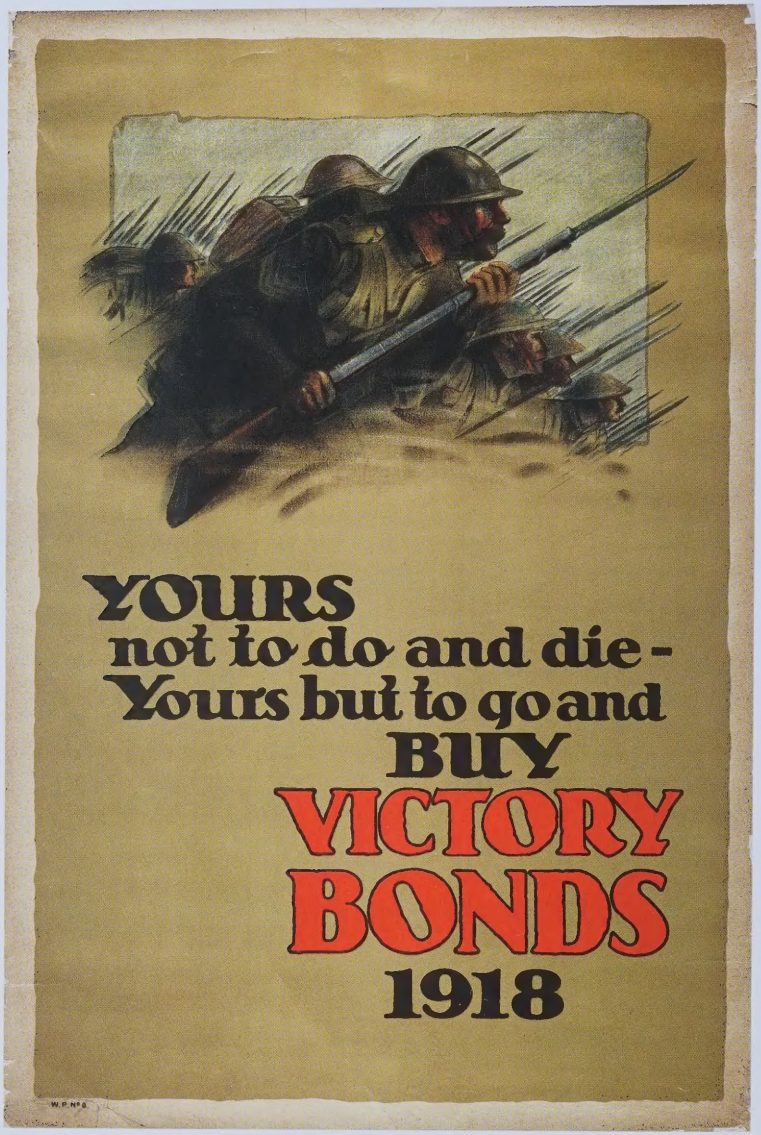
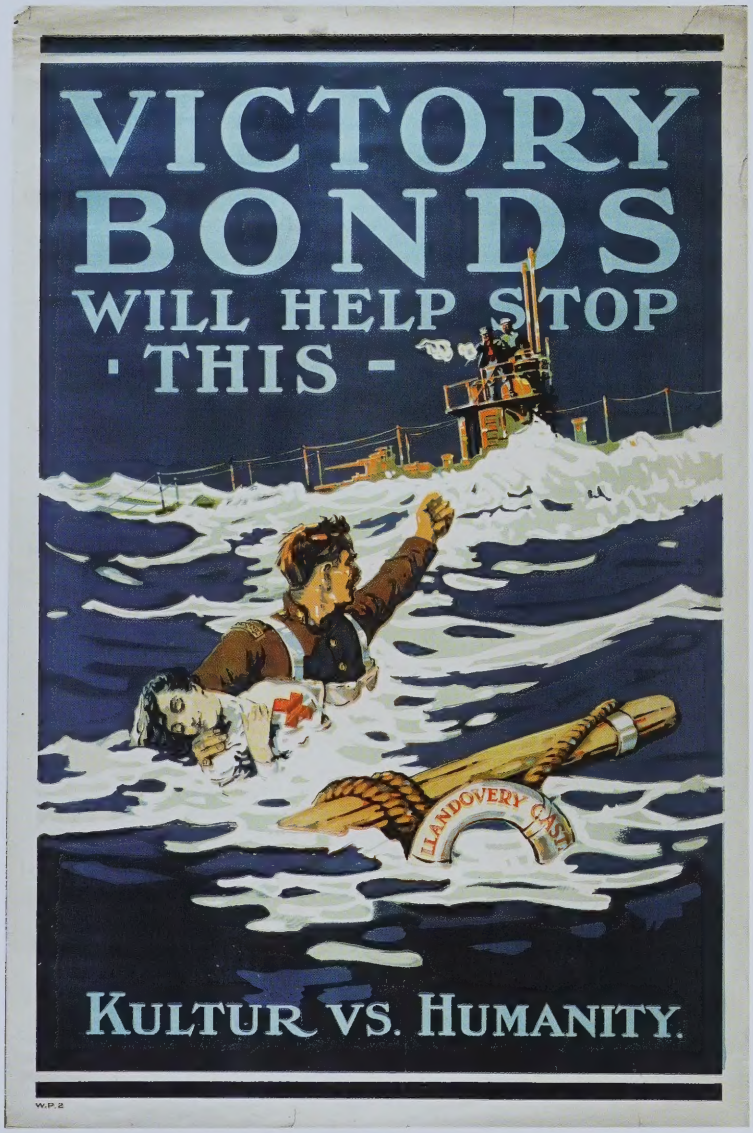

YOURS
not to do and die -
Yours but to go and
BUY
VICTORY
BONDS
1918
W.P. No 8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LLANDOVERY CAST
KULTUR VS. HUMANITY.
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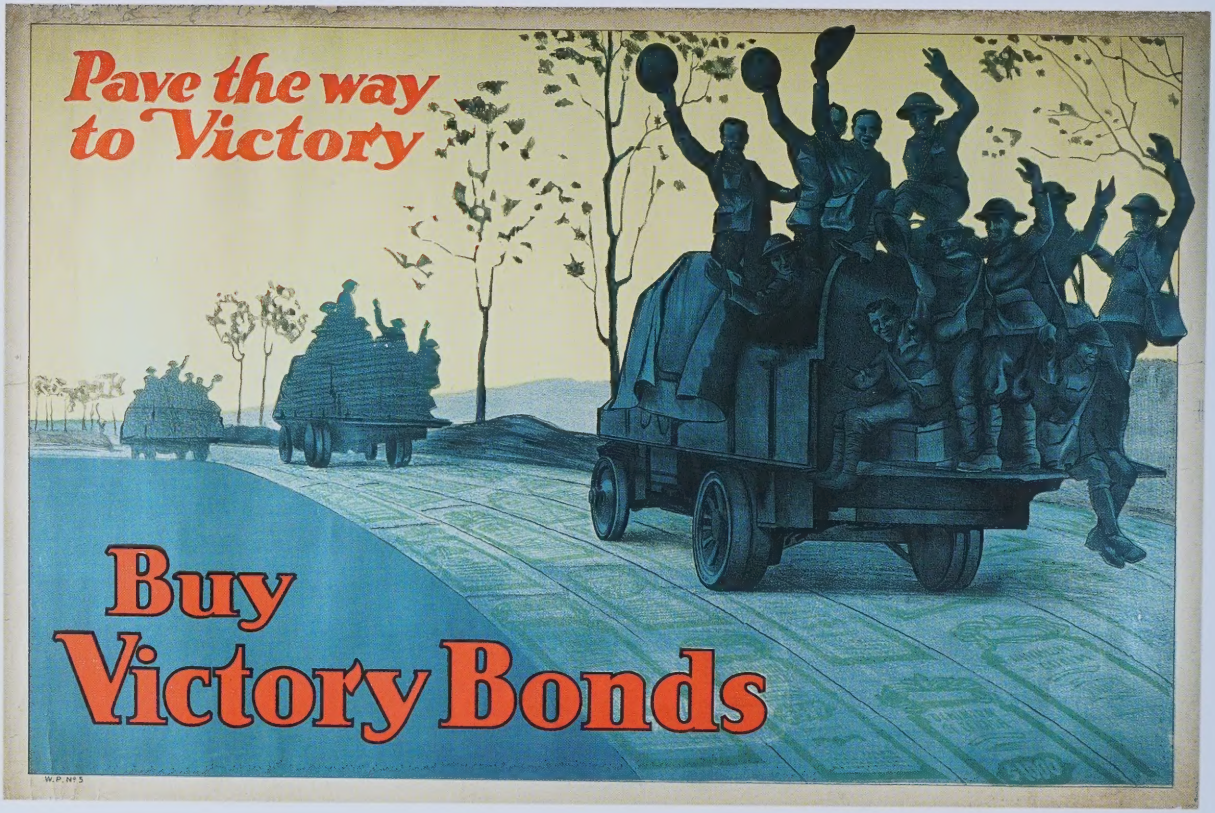
Pave the way
to Victory
Buy
Victory Bonds
W.P. N°5

They serve France
How can I serve Canada?
Buy Victory Bonds

Doing My Bit
FOUR YEARS
DO YOURS
BUY
Victory Bonds

"If ye break faith —
we shall not sleep"
BUY VICTORY BONDS

104 Photograph album of Canadian Press Corps tour of the front, 1918. [London: Ministry of Information, 1918].

On display is an album presented by Lord Beaverbrook, the Minister of Information in the British government, to members of the Canadian press party commemorating their visit to the Western Front and Britain in August 1918. Among the tour delegates were William Southam of the Southam newspaper chain, E.H. Macklin, business manager of the *Manitoba Free Press*, and F. Smith of the *Toronto News*. The photographs begin with the party's arrival in France and meetings with the French President, Raymond Poincaré (1860-1934), and Field Marshal Sir Douglas Haig (1861-1928), commander of the British Expeditionary Force. They continued with a visit to the ruins of Ypres, then Vimy Ridge where the Canadian Corps commander, Lieutenant-General Sir Arthur Currie, described the battle; members of the party also viewed the work of detachments from the Canadian Railway Troops and the Canadian Forestry Corps. The tour concluded with the group's return to Britain and trips to Edinburgh Castle and an aerodrome near London. Southam reported that 'at Fort Douamont and Ypres the experience of being under shell fire was one which I thought would leave the greatest

THE PARTY WALKING THROUGH YPRES.

and most lasting impression on my mind of all the wonderful experiences of this marvellous trip of the Canadian Press party. To-day, however, that sensation and feeling of exhilaration and excitement was nothing and quite tame in comparison with my trip over London at an altitude of five thousand feet' (*Toronto Daily Star*, August 17, 1918: 5).

A UNIVERSITY AT WAR

'The University of Toronto, unlike the rest of my native city, seemed an armed camp. Faculty members and undergraduates were constantly drifting off for military duty' (Massey: 101). So wrote the young Raymond Massey (1896-1983) of his impressions of campus life in the fall of 1914. When war broke out, he and his older brother, Vincent (1887-1967),

were travelling in France. Fearing the conflict would be over before they could take part, the brothers returned to Canada as quickly as possible, booking passage the second week of September aboard the Cunard Steamship Line's *Lusitania*. Once back home Raymond enrolled at Victoria College and Vincent resumed his teaching duties in the Department of History. Both men would participate in the military activities taking place on the University campus. Raymond joined the recently formed Canadian Officers' Training Corps (C.O.T.C.) drilling alongside a fellow corporal, Lester B. Pearson (1897-1972). Having left the University in 1915 without graduating, to enlist in a field battery of the Canadian Expeditionary Force in France, Raymond was badly concussed by a German shell landing near his dug-out, and the resulting shell-shock forced his early return home, where he began working as a military instructor. Vincent, commander of the Victoria College C.O.T.C. company, was later appointed the Senior Musketry Officer of Military District No. 2, and ended the war as Associate Secretary of the War Committee of the Cabinet in Ottawa. They were but two of the more than fifty-six hundred University of Toronto staff, graduates, and undergraduates who served in uniform during the Great War, over six hundred of whom were killed in action or died on active service.

Even before the 1914 fall school session began, approximately two hundred and fifty University men, most of them members of the Militia, had left for the Valcartier training camp and then sailed to England as part of the First Contingent. The C.O.T.C. was organized at the beginning of term and soon hundreds of students with staff members serving as their officers were drilling and marching on the front and back campuses. President Robert Falconer (1867-1943) wrote of the spirit pervading the University: 'The students were standing side by side in a noble cause. They were one in their purpose, and that purpose was not play and exercise, but training so as to be fit to serve. They knew what they were training for' (*Varsity Magazine Supplement*, 1915: 2). As the war continued, the 'drifting off for military duty' had its effect on University enrolment. By the close of the 1914-1915 academic year nearly five hundred undergraduates had left the University to enlist. In addition, seventy-one members of staff and more than six hundred graduates were also on active service. Over the course of the war, enrolment of men in the university dropped from 2,926 in the 1914-1915 session to 1,559 in the 1917-1918 academic year (*The University Monthly*, January 1919: 55). The growing casualty lists and the Canadian government's demands for more men in uniform were reflected in an increase in military activity on campus. One regiment fighting on the Western Front, the Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry, had suffered serious losses during the early battles of 1915. A proposal was made that universities should provide reinforcements for the regiment. Known officially as the Universities Companies, Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry, six companies totalling twelve hundred men were raised, many from the ranks of the University's C.O.T.C. Other units preparing for overseas service such as the 25th, 26th, and 43rd artillery batteries also included a substantial number of men recruited from the University. In March 1916, the Overseas Training Company of the C.O.T.C., was established with Professor G.H. Needler (1866-1962), Head of the German Department, as its commanding officer.

Membership was not strictly limited to University of Toronto students; recruits from other universities and those with similar educational qualifications were also accepted. Training took place on the University grounds and the men lived in barracks at Burwash Hall. Many of those trained became officers or non-commissioned officers in the C.E.F. while others were chosen for Imperial (British Army) commissions. At the same time as the formation of the Overseas Training Company, there was general discussion about 'raising a distinct combatant unit bearing the University's name', and as a result of this an artillery unit, the 67th Varsity Battalion, was authorized. University men also formed a company of volunteers with the First Canadian Tank Battalion organized in April 1918.

University of Toronto grounds and buildings were also used for military purposes by those not directly associated with that institution. Throughout the war the University played an important role in the work of instruction conducted by the military schools of Military District No. 2 (Central Ontario) which had its headquarters in Toronto. The Provisional School of Infantry under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel W.R. Lang, and later Lieutenant-Colonel A.D. LePan (1885-1976), and the School of Musketry under Major Vincent Massey, assisted by other members of staff, used the grounds and buildings including the unfinished Hart House which housed a target range in the future theatre. A cleverly executed image of an occupied ruined Belgian village drawn by Lieutenant Lawren Harris (1885-1970), a School of Musketry instructor, presented the students with puppet-like figures in German uniforms as targets. In early 1917 the Royal Flying Corps also began using the University facilities for training its cadets.

105 University staff and students in civilian clothes drilling on the back campus, fall of 1914. Hart House construction in the background – Photograph.

106 Canadian Officers' Training Corps, February 1915. Group shot of officers taken in front of University College (the civilian in top hat is President Falconer; to his left are Lieutenant-Colonel W.R. Lang, Major A.D. LePan, and Captain Vincent Massey) – Photograph.

107 Canadian Officers' Training Corps, Winter 1914/1915. Members drilling on front campus – Photograph.

108 Canadian Officers' Training Corps. Parade for Niagara Camp, 3 May 1915 – Photograph.

In August 1914, anticipating the government's approval of a Canadian Officers' Training Corps on campus, the University's Rifle Association organized an officers' training class supervised by Captain G.N. Bramfitt (1883-1962), of the Faculty of Music, to provide instruction to about twenty staff members. These members of staff would form the nucleus of the officers in charge of the University's C.O.T.C., established on campus in October 1914 to prepare young men for military service overseas. Under the

command of Lieutenant-Colonel W.R. Lang, Professor of Chemistry, the C.O.T.C. within weeks of its formation had grown to a force of eighteen hundred students. Organized into companies according to their colleges and faculties, the

students' training was facilitated by President Falconer's announcement that lectures and laboratory work would end every day at 4:00 p.m. Soon groups of young men could be seen marching and drilling at various places on campus. As reported in *The University Monthly*, however, not everything went smoothly. The 'most serious difficulty has been the small number of rifles available, and the members of the Corps have had to content themselves with squad, section, platoon and company drills without arms. Most of those who joined early have received some instruction in shooting at the ranges, but since then the supply of ammunition has given out' (*The University Monthly*, XV December 1914, No. 2: 101). Uniforms were also in short supply. But the enthusiasm of the undergraduates and their instructors made up for any deficiencies in equipment. As Professor Maurice Hutton (1856-1940), Principal of University College, noted: 'In the extremity of the need for volunteers, the spirit of the men has risen to the occasion and has dispensed cheerfully with mere accessories' (*President's Report for the Year Ending 30th June, 1915*: 14). In the spring of 1915 the Militia conducted a training camp that included contingents from

the C.O.T.C.s of Toronto and McGill universities. On Monday morning, 3 May 1915, seven hundred members of the C.O.T.C. gathered on the front campus prior to their trip to the Niagara training camp. Marching through the streets of the city they arrived at the foot of Bay Street where they boarded the *Dalhousie City* for the trip across the lake. Over the next twelve days the students took part in a course of instruction in squad and platoon drill, musketry, and field training exercises. 'Throughout the camp the men all displayed an eagerness to do things as they ought to be done and there was no trouble about discipline. There was a hearty spirit in evidence everywhere, and many are the recollections of humorous incidents carried away by those at camp' (*Varsity Magazine Supplement*, 1915: 36).

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109 *The Canadian Soldier's Manual for French and German Prepared by Professors of the University of Toronto.* Toronto: Camp Chaplain's Office, Concentration Camp, 1915.

In January 1915 the University organized a number of classes under the direction of Professor John Squair (1850-1928) to teach French and German to the officers and other ranks training at the Exhibition grounds. The instructors, drawn from members of the Modern Languages staff, included Professors John Home Cameron (1859-1944), G.H. Needler, and A.E. Lang (1862-1944), who prepared a manual to assist the soldiers in their studies. The copy on display was presented to the University of Toronto Library by Professor Cameron, Head of the Department of French at University College from 1916 through 1927.

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110 Major Thain Wendell MacDowell V.C., D.S.O. – Photograph.

Thain MacDowell enrolled at Victoria College and graduated in 1915 with a Bachelor of Arts degree. Immediately following graduation, he was commissioned in the 38th Battalion and went to France with his unit in the summer of 1916. As part of the Fourth Canadian Division, the battalion fought in the later stages of the Battle of the Somme. It was here, on 18 November 1916, south of Ancre, that MacDowell won the Distinguished Service Order for destroying three German machine-gun positions and taking more than fifty prisoners. The following April the four divisions of the Canadian Corps fought together for the first time achieving a notable victory by taking Vimy Ridge. On the first day of the battle MacDowell, among the first wave of attacking troops, became separated from his men, but continued to move forward. With the assistance of two other soldiers, he put two enemy machine-guns out of action and then captured a German dug-out by an act of sheer bravado. Descending the fifty-two steps of the dug-out, MacDowell was confronted by seventy-seven Germans whom he tricked into surrendering by convincing their officers that he was in command of a large body of men waiting above. For this action he was awarded the Victoria Cross, Britain's highest military award for gallantry. The citation for the

medal, which appeared in the *London Gazette*, reads as follows:

> 'For most conspicuous bravery and indomitable resolution in the face of heavy machine-gun and shell fire. By his initiative and courage this officer, with the assistance of two runners, was enabled, in the face of great difficulties, to capture two machine-guns, besides two officers and seventy-five men. Although wounded in the hand, he continued for five days to hold the position gained, in spite of heavy shell fire, until eventually relieved by his battalion. By his bravery and prompt action he undoubtedly succeeded in rounding up a very strong enemy machine-gun post.'

MacDowell's portrait was painted by Harold Knight (1874-1961) commissioned by the Canadian War Memorials Fund. The painting is reproduced in the Fund's gift book *Art & War*, published in 1919. MacDowell survived the war.

111 No. 4 Canadian General Hospital, Salonika. Dug-out for nurses to be used during air raids in process of construction, January 1916 – Photograph.

112 No. 4 Canadian General Hospital, Salonika. Sister Gamble standing in dug-out in process of construction, January 1916 – Photograph.

113 No. 4 Canadian General Hospital, Salonika. "Spadina Avenue", April 1916 – Photograph.

114 No. 4 Canadian General Hospital, Salonika. "Church St.", April 1916 – Photograph.

115 No. 4 Canadian General Hospital, Salonika. Convoy leaving hospital, 8 May 1916 – Photograph.

116 No. 4 Canadian General Hospital, Salonika. Major McVicar and staff of "A & D room", 7 May 1916 – Photograph.

In early February 1915, the University offered the Canadian government a 1,040-bed hospital at an overseas location, to be staffed by members of the University and under its control (*President's Report for year ending 30th June 1915*: 9). The offer was accepted and the Militia Department authorized the appointment of forty-four medical men, seventy-three nurses, and two hundred and six other ranks (*Varsity Magazine Supplement*, 1916: 12). Many of the University's physicians, surgeons, pathologists, bacteriologists, and physiologists joined the hospital staff, as did a number of undergraduates. The nurses were recruited from hospitals affiliated with the University. Funds to purchase medical equipment and maintain the hospital overseas were raised through public appeals for donations, the initial appeal raising $60,000. Much needed hospital clothing, bed linen, and surgical dressings were made by the University Women's Hospital Supply Association, a volunteer organization that supplied the hospital throughout the war. On 15 May the staff of No. 4 Canadian General Hospital left Toronto, travelling by train to Montreal where they boarded the *Corinthian* for the two-week passage to England. The next five months were ones of frustration for the medical personnel, there being at that juncture no need for another large hospital in the war zone. Instead they found themselves assigned to temporary duty at various military hospitals across Britain. Finally, in October 1915 a decision was made to send No. 4 Hospital to Salonika where British and French troops were fighting in support of their Serbian allies against Bulgaria. Arriving on 10 November the staff settled into their camp site five miles from the city. During the hospital's first year in Salonika the staff worked and lived under canvas; the exception was the Pathological Laboratory which was housed in a wooden hut, the only permanent structure on the site. Conditions were primitive. Water had to be brought in on carts from wells three miles away and then chlorinated and boiled. The weather was harsh, and on a few occasions surgery was suspended because temperatures in the operating tent were too low, hovering just above freezing. The commanding officer of the hospital, Lieutenant-Colonel J.A. Roberts (1876-1945) of the University's department of surgery, commented in a letter on the conditions facing his staff: 'We are living in tents and if you could look out to-day or could have been here yesterday and lived through the rain first, then the wind, and to-day the snow and sleet, and waded through mud above your ankles, you would perhaps realize that we are not running a Toronto General Hospital, nor sleeping in a bed of roses' (*Varsity Magazine Supplement*, 1916: 16). At the end of May 1916 the hospital moved to a new location on a small peninsula that formed the eastern boundary of Salonika Harbour. Here the tents were gratefully discarded in favour of the more than eighty wooden huts that had been built to accommodate the hospital. Over the next year 17,682 patients were admitted, most suffering from illnesses such as malaria, black-water fever, pneumonia, and rheumatism. By June 1917 the daily average of patients was between 1,200 and 1,400. In September of that year the hospital returned to England and the staff spent the rest of the war in Basingstoke, Hampshire, tending mainly to Canadian soldiers.

117 First Overseas Draft, 67th (Varsity) Battery, C.F.A., June 1916. Men standing in front of the Mining Building – Photograph.

In early 1916 the idea of raising a distinct 'combatant unit' from the University was discussed so that more Varsity men might be kept together on enlisting (*The University Monthly*, XVI, May 1916: 368). The formation of the 67th Battery was authorized and recruiting began on 29 March 1916. Within a few weeks a full complement of two hundred men, almost all of them students or graduates of the University, was reached. Headquartered in the 'Little Red Schoolhouse' (School of Practical Science), the battery as a unit never went overseas; rather, it acted as a 'depot battery' from which drafts were sent, as needed, to combat formations in France and Belgium. The first draft of one officer and fifty men left Toronto on 12 June 1916. In all, eighteen drafts totalling twelve officers and eight hundred and forty-four other ranks went overseas between June 1916 and September 1918 to serve with different artillery units of the

C.E.F. The Students' Administration Council contributed $1,750 to the Battery from funds raised through the sale of the 1916 edition of the *Varsity Magazine Supplement*.

118 Royal Flying Corps/Royal Air Force. Class on construction. No. 4 School of Aeronautics. Main Class Room, Hart House – Photograph.

119 Royal Air Force. Tents on back campus with Jenny JN4 aircraft overhead ca. 1918. The plane was built at Leaside in Toronto – Photograph.

In the spring of 1917 the Royal Flying Corps (to be renamed the Royal Air Force the following year with the amalgamation of the R.F.C. and the Royal Naval Air Service) established a training centre in Canada with headquarters at Toronto. In addition to the construction of flying facilities at

various points in the province (Camp Borden, Bay of Quinte district, Deseronto Camps of Mohawk and Rathburn, and in the Toronto area, Long Branch, Leaside, and Armour Heights), a cadet school of instruction, later known as the School of Military Aeronautics, was set up at the University with a considerable portion of the grounds and a number of buildings put at the disposal of the R.F.C.

Lectures on the theory of flight, the internal combustion engine, rigging, bomb aiming and navigation were conducted in the Engineering Building, the Upper Gymnasium at Hart House, and the rooms of the Physics and Thermodynamics buildings. Several staff members of the Faculty of Applied Science volunteered their time to provide some of the instruction to the cadets. Examinations were held in the residences of University College and in North House and Middle House of Burwash Hall. After completion of the six-week programme at the University, the cadets transferred to the flying camps at Leaside, Camp Borden and elsewhere in the province to continue their training. To give some idea of the scale of the Royal Air Force training activities on campus, the Superintendent of the Dining Hall reported that from 1 July to 4 December 1918, her staff served an average of 1,350 meals to the cadets per day; in the summer months this rose to 1,800 meals per day.

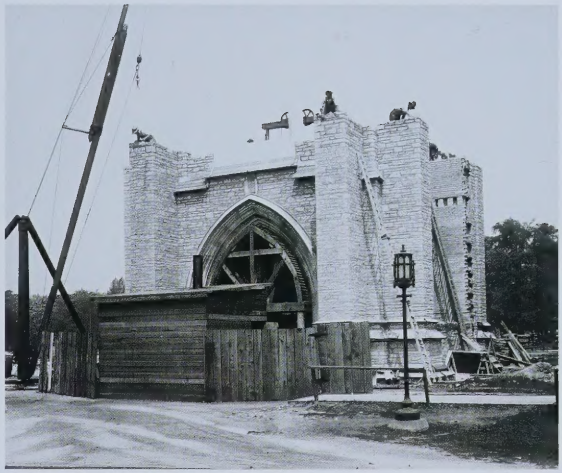
120 University of Toronto Company, First Tank Battalion, Canadian Machine Gun Corps, Ottawa, May 1918. Men standing in front of the Parliament Buildings – Photograph.

In March 1918 the British War Office asked the Canadian government to create a Canadian tank battalion. Approval

was given by Ottawa, and recruiting began soon after. 'The officers and men who ultimately formed the rank and file of the battalion were carefully selected, for having in mind the fact that to learn quickly and well the multiple and highly technical duties involved in the operation of tanks, and in addition the high standard of physique necessary for their manipulation, Col. Denison [the battalion commander] asked the University Companies of the C.O.T.C. to give the men under their control, whom they should recommend, the opportunity of serving overseas with tanks' (*Tank Tatler*, May 1919: 3). The University of Toronto and McGill University were asked by the authorities each to raise a company and the other universities across the country to provide the men for a third company. In little over two weeks the two hundred men from the Overseas Training Company of the University's C.O.T.C. had been recruited for the tank company, the officers recommended by President Falconer. At the end of April, the University of Toronto Company left for Ottawa where the battalion conducted basic training on Parliament Hill. In June they sailed for England and spent the remainder of the war in training camps learning to be tank drivers or gunners. The armistice was signed before the battalion had the opportunity to see action.

121 Soldiers' Tower under construction, 23 June 1923 – Photograph.

122 Soldiers' Tower under construction, 3 January 1924 – Photograph.



123 Dedication of The Soldiers' Tower on Thursday afternoon, 5 June 1924 – Invitation.

124 Soldiers' Tower before the unveiling of the Memorial Tablets, 5 June 1924 – Photograph.

In the December 1918 issue of *The University Monthly*, the magazine of the Alumni Association of the University of Toronto, President Falconer declared that 'now that the war is over we must at once take steps to commemorate those of our graduates, undergraduates, and former students who have served in it, and especially those who laid down their lives. Their names must be held in perpetual remembrance' (p. 7). At a meeting of more than two hundred alumni held one month after the armistice, a decision was made that a

physical memorial recording the names of the members of the University who went overseas, and particularly of those who had fallen, should be constructed. At the same time a series of scholarships, some to be made available to the children of men killed in the war, would be established. The cost of the memorial, consisting of a tower and archway connected to Hart House and financed through donations, was estimated to be $225,000. The University's war veterans undertook to raise the funds necessary to construct a wall on which the memorial tablets engraved with the names of the 623 men and one woman who lost their lives in the war would be placed. The Toronto architectural firm Sproat and Rolph was commissioned to design and build the memorial tower. Although the cornerstone was laid by the Governor-General of Canada, the Duke of Devonshire (1868-1938), on 11 November 1919, the same day he officially opened Hart House, actual construction did not begin until late 1922. The initial agreement calling for a completion date of autumn 1923 was not met; the dedication ceremony took place on 5 June 1924 before a large crowd that included church, state, civic, and University dignitaries. A clock and carillon were not added until 1927.

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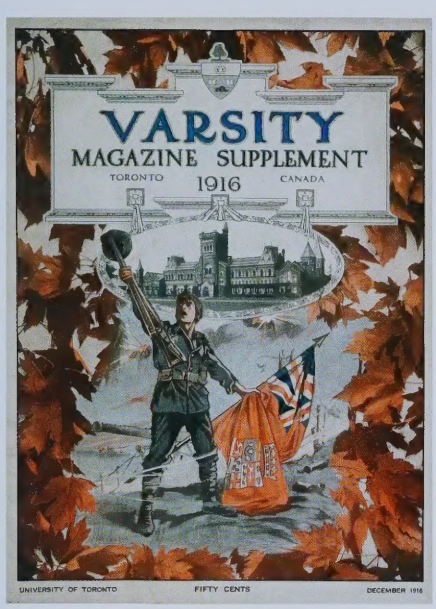
125 *The Varsity Magazine Supplement.* Toronto: Students' Administrative Council, 1915-1918.

Over the course of the war, the Students' Administrative Council published four magazine supplements dedicated to the members of the University serving with the armed forces. The supplements offered a record of the 'effect of the War upon the colleges and faculties...and of the various phases of war work organized and carried on in connection with the University'. Central to each issue were the honour rolls and 'on active service' sections, which were accompanied by photographs of nearly all the men and women who



served. Also published in each issue were articles by President Falconer and by Sir Edmund Walker, chairman of the Board of Governors. Regular features included reports on the activities of the C.O.T.C., No. 4 Canadian General Hospital, and the other military formations recruiting and training on University grounds. Informative pieces on the war by faculty (Professor G.M. Wrong's 'Canada's Part in the War') and well-known figures such as Winston Churchill ('The Kaiser's Guilt is Supreme') were also printed. The magazines provide not only an excellent history of the University during the war years, but also an outstanding visual record of that dramatic period. The proceeds from the sale of the supplements, amounting to almost $40,000, were dispersed to various patriotic causes such as the Canadian Red Cross, the Belgian and Serbian Relief Fund, No. 4 Canadian General Hospital, and the University's War Memorial Fund.

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126 University of Toronto. *University of Toronto Roll of Service, 1914-1918.* [Toronto]: University of Toronto Press, 1921.

This volume records the names of the nearly six thousand members of the University – present and former staff, graduates, undergraduates, former students – who served in the military during the First World War. The book builds on the work of two earlier rolls of service published in 1917 and 1918. The entries for the 612 men and one woman killed in action or who died on active service (a 1934 supplement added ten more names to the list of men killed and seventy-eight names to the roll of service) provide biographical and educational details of each person, with short outlines of their military careers, the circumstances surrounding their deaths, and when possible, the location of their graves. The lone woman listed, Lily Denton Keys (1889-1918), was a nursing sister with the Canadian Army Medical Corps. She died of pneumonia in 1918 while working at the Sandford Fleming Military Hospital in Ottawa. The majority of the volume contains the roll of service, which gives much briefer information on each member of the University community than that found in the roll of honour. A short history of the war years at the university and the role played by the military organizations on campus such as the C.O.T.C., the

Overseas Training Company, and the 67th Battery are included. The cover of the book was designed by J.E.H. MacDonald.

Sir Frederick Grant Banting (1891-1941)

Frederick Banting, co-discoverer of insulin, was entering his third year of medical studies at the University when war was declared. On two occasions in the first months of the war, Banting tried to enlist, but his applications were rejected because of his poor eyesight. A third attempt in the spring of 1915 proved successful and he was accepted as a private in the Canadian Army Medical Corps while he continued to study medicine. The pressing need for doctors to serve in the military prompted the University to condense the final year of study for Banting's class into a special summer session in 1916. Following graduation in December, he reported for active service, was promoted to lieutenant, and sailed to Britain at the end of March 1917. Banting, now a captain, went to France in June 1918, posted to No. 13 Canadian Field Ambulance stationed in the Amiens-Arras sector. Throughout the summer he worked in dressing stations, casualty clearing stations, and in the front lines attending to the wounded. While moving forward during an attack on 28 September 1918 to assist in bringing back wounded from an advanced aid post, Banting was struck in the right forearm by a piece of shrapnel from a German shell. The wound was serious enough to warrant his evacuation to a hospital in England.

127 Banting's *Officer's Record of Service Book, 1915-1918.*

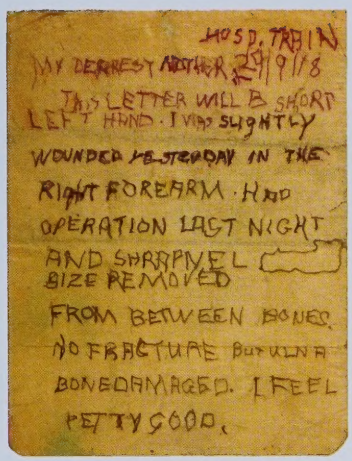
Issued to every officer below the permanent rank of lieutenant-colonel, this was, as the title suggests, a record of the officer's service career, the entries written in the officer's own hand.

128 Banting's war diary for 1918, open at the entry for 2 September 1918.

'At 8 a.m. after dressing about thirty casualties in a sunken road I went over the top [with] battn. We passed thro heavy shell fire and gas in valley. I dressed a few in sunken road west of Dury then went on to Dury.' In the margin beside the entry Banting noted: 'About 80 huns [sic] carried these [casualties] out. They had come over to our lines after barrage raised. The barrage was terrific on both sides.'

129 Banting's letter to his mother dated 29 September 1918.

One day after he received the shrapnel wound to his right arm, Banting wrote a short letter in capitals using his left hand while on board the ambulance train travelling to No. 20 General Hospital, Camiers. He was writing to inform his mother of his having been wounded and to assure her that he was doing well.



130 Military Cross awarded to Captain Banting, 13th Canadian Field Ambulance.

The Military Cross was awarded to commissioned officers of the rank of captain or below and to warrant officers for gallantry in action. The citation to Banting's award, which appeared in the supplement to the *London Gazette* on 30 July 1919, reads as follows: 'Near Haynecourt on September 28th, 1918, when the medical officer of the 46th Canadian battalion was wounded, he [Banting] immediately proceeded forward through intense shell fire to reach the battalion. Several of his men were wounded and he, neglecting his own safety, stopped to attend them. While doing this he was wounded himself and was sent out notwithstanding his plea to be left at the front. His energy and pluck were of a very high order.'

Harold Adams Innis (1894-1952)

Harold Innis, Professor of Political Economy at the University of Toronto from 1920 until his death in 1952, served in the war as a signaller with the 4th Reserve Battery, Canadian Field Artillery. Following his graduation in May 1916 from McMaster University in Toronto, Innis joined an artillery unit training in the city. In July, posted to a draft proceeding overseas, he arrived at Shorncliffe, one of the Canadian training centres in the south of England. The next few months were spent taking courses and tests in gunnery, signalling, and related activities. By the end of November 1916, Innis was in France with his battery where he participated in several battles including Vimy Ridge. During the evening of 7 July 1917, he and other signallers from his unit were walking towards an observation post near the crest of Vimy Ridge when German artillery opened fire. A fragment from one shell exploding nearby hit Innis in the right thigh. He was carried back to the dressing station and from there to a base hospital where surgery was performed to remove the shrapnel. Evacuated to England, he required a second surgery to clean the wound, which slowed his recovery. On 10 March 1918, deemed medically unfit, Innis boarded a ship for Canada.

131 Innis' Pay Book and Military Will.

As a signaller, the equivalent of a private in the infantry,

Innis was paid a daily wage of $1.10 or $33 a month. The will, leaving all his property to his mother, was torn from the pay book. According to the instructions for completing the document, the soldier was required to fill out his bequests in his own hand, and sign and date the will.

132 Innis' letter to his mother and others from Edinburgh, Scotland, dated 10 November 1916.

At the end of October 1916, Innis was informed that he would be sent to France in the next draft. In such circumstances, the men were given six-day leaves and Innis chose to travel to Inverness, Scotland, 'that being the farthest point north'. In the letter he explains that he was the only one in his squad to pass a series of signalling tests to qualify for a posting to a field battery at the front.

133 Innis with gas mask, 1916 – Photograph.

134 Innis' Field Service Message Book.

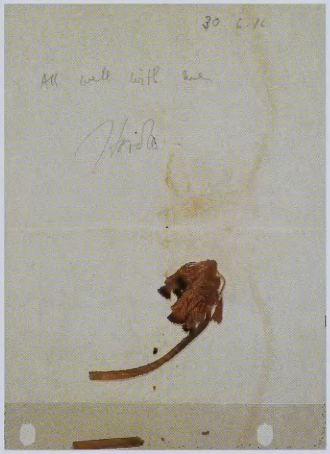
Innis was carrying this message book in his right trouser pocket when wounded by shrapnel. The piece of metal sliced through the book and the more than thirty field service postcards and 'On Active Service' envelopes tucked inside before entering his leg.

135 Harold Wrong, his first cousin, Gerald Blake, and others taken at Tremblay Boarding House, Cap à l'Aigle, Quebec – Photograph.

Gerald is reading a newspaper announcing the war on 4 August 1914, with Harold to his left.

Harold Verschoyle Wrong (1891-1916)

Harold Wrong was the second son of George Wrong (1860-1948), Professor and Head of the Department of History at the University of Toronto. Following graduation from University College in 1913 with a degree in Classics, he attended Oxford on a Flavelle Travelling Scholarship. While he was in Canada visiting family, the war broke out in Europe and Harold sought to join the first contingent gathering at Valcartier. Unable to get assurance of a commission with the C.E.F., he decided to return to Oxford where he joined the Oxford University Officers' Training Corps. Soon afterwards Harold was granted a commission as a second lieutenant with the 15th (1st Salford) Lancashire Fusiliers.



136 Wrong's last note to his brother, Murray.

On 30 June 1916 Harold wrote a quick note to his older brother living in England and working as vice-principal of the Manchester School of Technology. Enclosed with the pencilled note that simply said, 'All well with me', was a pressed flower. The following day, 1 July, the great British offensive on the Somme began. The day ended with the

British Army suffering more than fifty-seven thousand casualties of whom nearly twenty thousand were killed, making this the worst single-day disaster in its history. Among the dead was Lieutenant Harold Wrong, killed leading his platoon against the German trenches.

137 *Verbatim Extract from the War Diary of the 15th Lancashire Fusiliers* – Typescript.

This extract gives stark testimony to the devastating cost of the British attack on German positions at the Somme. Of the approximately 625 officers and men of Harold's regiment who went over the top on the morning of 1 July with the village of Thiepval as their objective, some 470 men were killed, wounded, or declared missing. Harold's body was never recovered. His name is inscribed on the Thiepval Memorial along with those of 73,356 men who have no known grave and who fell during the battles of the Somme. The village of Thiepval was not captured from the Germans until the end of September 1916.

138 Wrong's medals – 1914-1915 Star, British War Medal, and Victory Medal.

The 1914-1915 Star was awarded to those who served in France and Flanders from 23 November 1914 to 31 December 1915, and to those who saw service in other operational theatres between 5 August 1914 and 31 December 1915. The British War Medal was given to military personnel who had entered a theatre of war, or rendered approved service overseas between 5 August 1914 and 11 November 1918. The Victory Medal was awarded to all eligible personnel who served in an operational theatre.

139 Harold Verschoyle Wrong. *Verses*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1922.

This small pamphlet containing Harold Wrong's poetry was published as a memorial of him, and circulated among his friends. Almost half of the poems in the collection had previously appeared in print, several between the years 1910 and 1913 in the *Arbor*, a magazine published at the University of Toronto. The unpublished poetry which makes up the remainder of the collection was found among Wrong's papers after his death.

Death

I felt the clouds and all around me mist,
Behind, the twilight, a great flame before
That pierced the thick-spun texture of the clouds;
Behind it cleared, the mist was all in front.
I stood upon a pinnacle that rose
High in the air, and yet there was no height,
But all the world lay near within my grasp.
Light was my soul and my feet urged me on,
On through the grey that cloaked the distant flame;
I paused and looked, then forward turned once more
And forward strode into the foaming cloud,

And as I went the flame grew bright and wide,
And all was brilliant with that blazing light
Which dazzled me and filled my eyes with red
Till I was blinded and fell fainting down.
Then cleared the clouds and there was no more mist.

Gerald Edward Blake (1892-1916)

The grandson of Edward Blake (1833-1912), a Liberal Premier of Ontario, and first cousin to Harold Wrong, Gerald Blake attended University College, receiving his Bachelor of Arts degree in 1914. He was studying law at Osgoode Hall when war was declared. Like Harold, he chose to accept a commission in a British regiment, the Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire Light Infantry, joining the unit in July 1915. Gerald also took part in the Battle of the Somme and was killed in a night attack on the village of Pozières only a few miles from where his cousin had died three weeks previously.

140 Blake's diary for 1916, open at the entry for 1 July.

Blake's regiment was held in reserve on the first day of battle, but near enough to the front lines to witness some of the results of the initial assault. He noted in his diary the evacuation of large numbers of wounded to the rear areas and the lack of progress made by the troops in front of Beaumont Hamel where the Newfoundland Regiment was decimated.

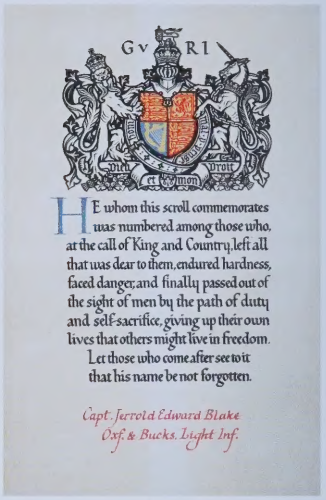
141 Blake's letter to his mother dated 22 July 1916.

The day before his death in battle, Captain Blake wrote to his mother a letter in which he made some revealing and surprisingly candid remarks about the German trenches at the Somme and the general situation at the front.

> The German trenches are wonderful things – very deep. The dugouts are much deeper than ours and bigger and more numerous. Some are quite palatial. A dressing station near a certain place is lit by electric light and capable of holding 200 people. Of course things are pretty sickening everywhere. There is not time to clear

out all the trenches and open country of either the German or British dead, not yet at any rate. We people who are in it are the only ones who can realize for a moment what even a small advance means. It must be pleasant for people at home to read the morning paper and look at the map and gleefully note the advance of 1000 yards or whatever it may be. They may thank God they don't have to see or go near that 1000 yards of country. I must shut up though.

The British severely underestimated the strength of the German defences, with disastrous consequences. As Blake described, the defences were so deep in many places that the preliminary British bombardment had little or no effect. British troops attacking these positions were cut down in their thousands.



142 Blake's memorial plaque with accompanying scroll and printed note from the King.

The next of kin of soldiers killed during the war were presented with a memorial plaque and commemorative scroll from the King and the country. The plaque, cast in bronze, is approximately five inches in diameter, and depicts Britannia and a lion with the words 'HE DIED FOR FREEDOM AND HONOUR'. The name of the dead soldier appears within a raised rectangle to the right of Britannia. On the reverse side is the bust of King George V in profile. The scroll reads: 'He whom this scroll commemorates was numbered among those who, at the call of King and Country, left all that was dear to them, endured hardness, faced danger, and finally passed out of sight of men by the path of duty and self-sacrifice, giving up their own lives that others might live in freedom. Let those who come after see to it that his name be not forgotten.' Accompanying the plaque and decorative scroll is a small printed note of condolence from the King.

143 *Tributes to the Memory of Corp. G. Gordon Galloway, B.A. 26th Battery, C.F.A.: Killed in Action in Flanders, Feb. 10, 1916, aged 21 yrs. 8 mos.* [Toronto?: s.n., 1916?].

Gordon Galloway (1894-1916) enrolled in mathematics and physics at University College in 1911 graduating with a B.A. four years later. In March 1915, anxious to serve with his

friends, he enlisted with the 26th Battery forming at Kingston, along with sixty other undergraduates from the university. On 7 February 1916 Galloway was sent to the frontline trenches in charge of the battery's telephonists. The following morning he was returning to his dug-out after observing shell fire when he was shot by a German sniper. He died two days later. In a letter printed in this volume, the officer commanding the 26th Battery wrote that Galloway was 'one of the best N.C.O.s in the battery, and if he had been spared he would have won his commission in a very short time'.

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144 *Major J.M. Langstaff, F.D.A., F.A.S., C.A. Barrister-at-Law: a Memorial.* Toronto: Press of Miln-Bingham, [1917?].

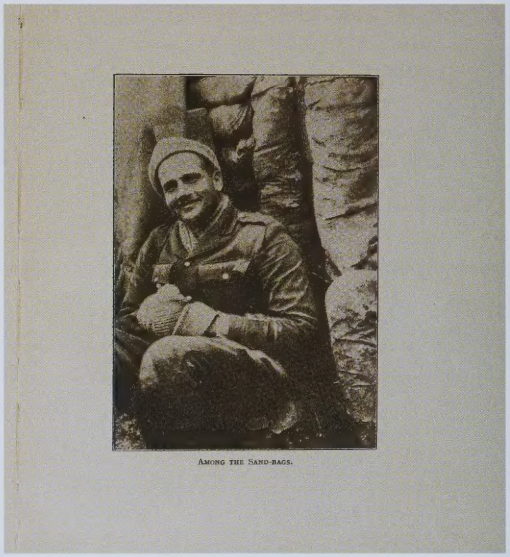
Personal tributes written by former school principals, employers, civic dignitaries, and fellow officers, and extracts from his own letters while serving at the front, draw a portrait of Major James Miles Langstaff (1883-1917), a man of many talents. A brilliant student who trained as a chartered account and lawyer, he also spent several years as a member of staff at the University lecturing in accountancy. Langstaff was killed 1 March 1917 while leading his battalion, the 75th, on an early morning raid of the German trenches at Vimy in an attempt to secure intelligence and bring back prisoners. Despite a preliminary bombardment of the enemy's positions, the Canadians found the trenches strongly defended and suffered serious casualties for negligible results – the bombing of four dug-outs and the capture of one German soldier (*75th Battalion War Diary*, March 1, 1917: 4). Of the 481 men from the 75th Battalion who took part in the raid, 221 officers and other ranks were killed, wounded, or listed as missing. Among the dead was the battalion commander, Lieutenant-Colonel S.G. Beckett (1869-1917), killed while attempting to rally his men when the attack broke down. Trench raids, conceived by the British high command as a way of sustaining an aggressive or offensive spirit in the men fighting a largely static war, were not well-liked by those who had to take part in them. These raids often cost the lives of very experienced officers and men like Major Langstaff for little material gain.

Beckett and Langstaff, together with sixteen battalion comrades, were buried 4 March in the Villers Au Bois Cemetery in a ceremony attended by the divisional commander and the officers and men from several units. In an address given during the memorial service held at Bloor Street Presbyterian Church, Toronto, on 18 March 1917, the Hon. N.W. Rowell spoke of a life whose potential was never realized: 'I have no doubt myself that if his life had been spared he would have found his way into public life. His capacity for public service and his strong sense of duty would have called him into public lines, and there is nothing more needed in Canada to-day than that just such type of men should enter the public life of our country and give to Canada, which so greatly needs the leadership and help, the best of the intellect and soul which Canada can procure.'

145 Bernard Freeman Trotter (1890-1917). *A Canadian Twilight and Other Poems of War and of Peace.* Toronto: McClelland, Goodchild & Stewart, 1920.

At the outbreak of war, Bernard Trotter was completing his undergraduate degree at Toronto's McMaster University. He promptly joined the Canadian Officers' Training Corps taking drill most days while working towards his B.A. which he completed in May 1915. Although he was willing to enlist for active service, the Canadian forces at that stage of the conflict were not looking for officers. Instead Trotter enrolled in graduate studies at the University of Toronto in the fall of 1915. Shortly after the beginning of term, a call went out for Canadian university men to apply for Imperial commissions in the British Army. Trotter did so and was accepted as a second lieutenant in the Leicester Regiment. Following training in England, he left with his regiment for France in December 1916. As Assistant Transport Officer, Trotter was responsible for bringing much-needed supplies to the members of his battalion stationed in the front lines. He was engaged in this activity on the evening of 7 May 1917 when a German shell landed near where he was standing and killed him instantly.

Trotter began writing poetry at the age of fourteen. A number of the poems printed in this volume appeared first in other publications including *The Canadian Magazine*, *Harper's Magazine*, and *The Acadia Athenaeum*.



146 *At Duty's Call: Captain William Henry Victor Van der Smissen. Queen's Own Rifles of Canada and 3rd Battalion (Toronto Regiment) Canadian Expeditionary Force. Born at Toronto the 6th of May, 1893 Killed on Mount Sorrel in Flanders the 13th of June, 1916.* [London: Printed by Boyle, Son & Watchurst, 1919?].

Unlike the vast majority of the officers serving with the C.E.F., Victor Van der Smissen was a graduate of the Royal Military College at Kingston. The youngest child of a professor of German at University College, he passed his final examinations at R.M.C. two months before the war

began. As a platoon commander with the 3rd Battalion, Victor fought at the Second Battle of Ypres in April 1915. Among the officers of his unit killed in the action was Lieutenant William Jarvis (see Case 2), a schoolmate and close friend of Victor's when both attended Ridley College in St. Catharines, Ontario. On 2 June 1916 the Germans launched a successful attack on Mount Sorrel in the Ypres Salient driving the Canadians from their positions. The First Canadian Division, of which the 3rd Battalion was a part, re-took the hill on 13 June, but Captain Van der Smissen was killed. The Mount Sorrel operations cost the Canadian Corps almost 8,500 casualties.

This volume, printed for private circulation and compiled by family members as a memorial to Victor and for those who 'may follow his example in doing their duty without fear as he did, even to the end', draws on the recollections of friends and fellow officers to illustrate a life full of promise cut short on a Flanders battlefield.

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